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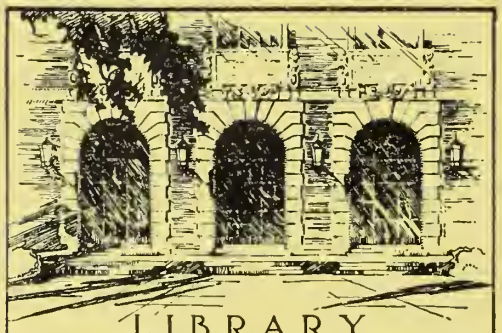

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THE WOODCUTTERS

OF THE

NETHERLANDS.

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THE WOODCUTTERS

OF THE

NETHERLANDS

IN THE

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

IN THREE PARTS:

I. HISTORY OF THE WOODCUTTERS.

II. CATALOGUE OF THE WOODCUTS.

III. LIST OF THE BOOKS CONTAINING WOODCUTS.

BY

WILLIAM MARTIN CONWAY.

CAMBRIDGE:
UNIVERSITY PRESS.
1884.

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INTRODUCTION.

In order to explain with clearness and brevity the origin and scope of this book, and at the same time duly to acknowledge the help generously given by so many towards the work, of which the results are here compressed together, I intend to write in this place a short account of the various stages of my investigations upon the Woodcutters of the Netherlands.

At the beginning of the year 1879, I devoted some months, under the direction of Prof. Sidney Colvin, to the study of the early German and Flemish engravings preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. It seemed only natural to pass on from them to the woodcuts of the same period; and these being chiefly contained in printed books, the scene of operations was transferred to the University Library. I was thus for the first time brought in contact with Mr Henry Bradshaw. The subject I wished to study was one in which he, almost alone in Europe, had long taken great interest; and with a kindness and magnanimity, which I can never sufficiently acknowledge, he at once placed at my disposal all the stores of learning in matters connected with the early history of Printing, the extent of which is too well known to need emphasis from me. The first book he put into my hands was Leeu's *Dialogus Creaturarum moralisatus*. I examined, measured, and described each cut carefully and then passed on to other books, containing woodcuts, printed at the same press.

It has been long known that a common habit of early printers was to make use of the same wood-block for the

illustration of many different books. The normal occurrence seems to have been for a printer to order from the woodcutter, usually employed by him, a set of cuts to serve as illustrations for some particular book, or set of books, and, after using them for that purpose, to turn them to account again and again as opportunity arose. At length the blocks were either worn out and laid aside, or they were sold to some other printer, to whose customers they would come with the freshness of novelty. Thus it became necessary to change the list of prints found in the fifteenth century books to a list of blocks cut in the fifteenth century, care being taken to note in the case of every block the various occasions of its use. The distribution of these blocks into classes (according to their styles) as the work of different woodcutters was thus rendered a matter of little difficulty; and so the passage backwards from prints to blocks, and from blocks to woodcutters, was complete.

At first I had intended to include the so-called Block-books in this investigation; but the problems connected with them are so different from those connected with the woodcuts in books printed with moveable types, that the force of circumstances prescribes an independent treatment for the two. The only Block-books, therefore, mentioned in this volume, are those of which the very blocks were cut up, and the pieces used as illustrations in books printed at a later date in the ordinary manner. Thus the limits of time naturally imposed upon me were from the date of the introduction of moveable types into the Netherlands down to the end of the year 1500. The limits of space, by no means arbitrarily chosen, were the boundaries of the existing kingdoms of Holland and Belgium. It is to be observed that this investigation was alone rendered possible by the life-long work which has produced two books, such as no other country can boast—the *Monuments typographiques des Pays-Bas au xv^e^ siècle* of M. Holtrop, furnishing an exhaustive collection of specimens of all the known presses, and the equally exhaustive list of the books which is contained in Dr Campbell's *Annales de la Typographie Néerlandaise au xv^e^ siècle.* Without the existence of such works no attempt could have been made, with any prospect of success, to attack the history of the

woodcuts employed at the presses which have been the subject of such prolonged methodical research. Until Germany and France set themselves patiently to follow in the footsteps of Holtrop and Campbell, our acquaintance with early French and German printing, and therefore *à fortiori* with the early woodcut illustrations of French and German books, cannot but remain in a condition of vagueness and uncertainty.

After two months' work my list of the woodcuts (falling within these limits), contained in books in the Cambridge University Library, was complete. Throughout that time Mr Bradshaw had constantly helped me in every possible way, and I must here, once for all, assert that whatever of correctness, completeness, and thoroughness the following book may contain is chiefly due to him. By his advice and assistance I determined to undertake a thorough study of the subject. From Dr Campbell's *Annales de la Typographie Néerlandaise au xv^e^ siècle* we were enabled to form a list of all the books containing cuts, and of the libraries where copies of them could be seen. These libraries were visited in turn. First I went to Dublin, where a few very precious volumes are preserved in the Library of Trinity College. Then, in July 1879, I went to the Hague, the natural headquarters of an investigation of this kind. There Dr Campbell greeted me with open arms, and gave me every facility for work that it was possible to desire, besides placing at my disposal the valuable results of his own long experience. At Haarlem, Amsterdam, and Deventer I was received with equal kindness. At Utrecht Professor Doedes willingly allowed me access to the rare volumes, of which he is so worthy a possessor, and at Gouda M. Koemans was similarly generous. I then went to Alkmaar, hoping to find in the possession of a gentleman there the unique copy (mentioned in the *Annales*) of a Schoonhoven *Spieghel der volmaectheyt.* The gentleman was with difficulty identified as the local saddler, who indignantly repudiated the idea that he was the possessor of any books whatever, except his ledger and a Bible. The book in question, as I afterwards learnt, had passed into other hands, and had been bought by Mr Bradshaw at the Van der Willigen sale at Amsterdam in 1875. On my return I saw it in his rooms.

The next places visited in turn were Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Wolfenbüttel, at all of which the books required were forthcoming. At Helmstadt I was less fortunate; for, though the Accursius Pisanus I wanted was presently found, the single woodcut it should have contained proved to have been cut out. At Berlin, Dr Lippmann, with his usual courtesy to foreign students, gave me every possible assistance in my work.

One of the things I was most anxious to see was the "*Figures gravées en bois de la vie de Jésus-Christ*" (CA. 746). From the descriptions of Murr and Heineken, referred to by Dr Campbell, it seemed possible that these *Figures* might prove to be leaves of some lost Block-book, though the cuts were well known as constantly used by Gerard Leeu, and altogether in the style of one of the woodcutters employed by him. The last place where they were recorded to have been seen was the Library of the suppressed University of Altorf. No one could tell me whither that Library had been transferred, until, by chance, I met a lady at Dresden, who informed me that her father was a student at Altorf, at the very time the University was suppressed, and that he was obliged to go to Erlangen to complete his studies. So to Erlangen I at once went, arriving there on a winter's afternoon, five minutes before the hour for closing the Library. I hurried from the station, leaving my luggage to look after itself, rushed, with somewhat unseemly haste, into the room of the excellent librarian, Dr Zucker, and eagerly enquired whether the sheets, for which I had so long been searching, were under his charge. He quickly recognised and laid his hand upon what I wanted, and set it aside for examination on the following day. It was with a feeling of satisfaction and relief that I went out and watched, from the hill-slopes behind the town, the sun set below the edge of the wide snow-clad plain, out of which the towers of Nürnberg arose like ghosts in the misty distance.

From Erlangen I travelled to Nürnberg, and from Nürnberg to Munich, and this formed the southernmost limit of my bibliographical tour. Both at Munich, Darmstadt, and Frankfurt I met with the same kind treatment as elsewhere,

and the fates were still propitious, though they were not long to remain so. At Coblenz only one of the books wanted was forthcoming; at Trier it was impossible to lay hands upon any of the volumes in my list; at Cöln the same ill-luck awaited me, both in the Town Archives and in the Catholic Gymnasium. It was not till I reached Brussels that the tide of fortune turned, and there I had not fortune to thank, so much as the presiding genius of M. Ruelens, who forwarded my wishes with the readiest and most competent help. To M. Hymans the Keeper of the Prints I am likewise indebted for several valuable hints. In the same town M. Alphonse Willems was kind enough to give me access to his books, and M. Olivier supplied me with information on one or two points where information was of real value. At Louvain, notwithstanding the willingness of the good Librarian to assist me in every way, I was only partially successful in finding the books wanted. At Ghent, on the other hand, M. Ferd. Vander Haeghen not only found all the books in the University Library for which I asked, but some of which I had not heard, and he procured for me the opportunity of studying at leisure a number of volumes in the valuable Vergauwen collection, since dispersed. The only library of importance in Holland or Belgium which I was not able to see was that of the Duc d'Arenberg. It is understood to be for the present (since the death of the late Duke) packed away in boxes and absolutely inaccessible.

After a brief visit to England, early in 1880, I continued my journey, going first of all to Paris. M. Léopold Delisle and M. Thierry of the Bibliothèque Nationale showed me the courtesy which has become traditional in all parts of that institution, and makes work there particularly pleasant. From Paris I went to Cambrai, and thence to Mons to see the unique copy of the *Exercitium* Block-book. A few more days were spent in Belgium and then another three weeks in the Royal Library at the Hague, where Dr Campbell was, if possible, kinder and more helpful than ever. This brought my labours on the Continent to an end. In England there remained only the Library of the British Museum, after a series of visits to which I returned to Cambridge and once more went through

the books in the University Library, revising, by the light of a larger experience, the notes which had been taken there before. Between the beginning of April and the end of July, 1880, the results of my work were written down at Cambridge, with the constant help of Mr Bradshaw, as referee upon all points of difficulty connected with the bibliography of the subject; and the book took very much the form in which it now appears. No part of it however saw the light for some year and a half, and then portions of Part I. appeared as articles in several consecutive numbers of the *Bibliographer* (Lond. 1882).

Finally, by the liberality of the Syndics of the University Press, the missing link in the chain is supplied, and my book has been enabled to see the light. In passing the sheets through the press Mr Bradshaw has again been my good genius, ever ready with his sympathy and with large and precious sacrifices of his time. Dr Campbell has likewise been most kind in reading the proofs for me, and Mr Harold Lafone, of Trinity College, Cambridge, has done me a similar service so far as Part I. is concerned. I have also to thank Mr Karl Pearson for suggestions which have led to valuable results.

It remains, in order to render more intelligible the general course of development of the art of Woodcutting during the period dealt with in the following chapters, and to show more precisely the scope of the present work, to make a few general remarks at this point upon the whole subject.

At the time when the Block-books were printed the style of woodcutting was very simple. It consisted in rendering with pure outline the designs drawn upon the wood. The prints were intended to be coloured, and the outlines were mere guides for the illuminator. Hardly any shade hatchings were introduced, but the main lines were left free and cut with great care and often with much real art. When moveable types came into use in the Netherlands, the first books printed by means of them were not illustrated, if we leave out of account such an exceptional work as the *Speculum*. When however, after the year 1475, woodcuts began to make their way, as illustrations, into printed books, they

were at first cut in the same style as the woodcuts of the Block-books. This school of pure line work is represented best by the Utrecht and First Gouda Woodcutters. The Second Gouda Cutter inaugurated what we may call the Transitional School, which covered approximately the years 1482—1490. Its style still lays much stress upon the outlines but employs shade hatchings in considerable quantity. The most characteristic worker belonging to it was the Haarlem Cutter, and his influence was felt all over the country. He retained something of the *naïveté* of the earlier workmen, at the same time introducing more of the pictorial element into his cuts. In the year 1491 French woodcuts found their way into the Netherlands, and they swiftly produced a revolution in the art. The characteristic quality of the French cuts is the large masses of delicately cut shade lines which they contain. The workmen of the Low Countries, finding these foreign cuts rapidly becoming popular, endeavoured to imitate them, but without bestowing upon their work that care, by which alone any semblance of French delicacy could be attained. From the year 1490 onwards, Dutch and Flemish cuts always contain large masses of clumsily cut shade. The outlines are rude; the old childishness is gone; thus the last decade of the 15th century is a decade of decline. Such is briefly the course of the art as described in the following work.

It seemed best to divide the book into three parts, not only because that was the most natural arrangement—the Woodcutter, the Woodcuts, and the Printer receiving prominence in turn—but also because the volume is more likely in this form to be of service to students of different kinds. Those interested in the general history of Art will find in Part I. what little pabulum there is for them. To students of the early history of Printing and Woodcutting Part II. will be more useful; whilst by a reference to Part III., anyone can give to the books therein mentioned, to which he may have access, a more extended utility, because he will be able to see what schools and styles of woodcutting are represented by the prints contained in them. Lastly, the student of Iconography will have little difficulty in finding references to examples of particular subjects, seeing that the

cuts in Part II. naturally fall into a few series, the contents of each being almost compassable at a glance.

It will be observed that in order to facilitate reference from one part of the book to another, the same numbering is common to the sections of Parts I. and II., so that it is easy to pass at once from the description of the style of any particular artist to the list of the cuts made by him, or *vice versâ*.

Whatever explanation is necessary for understanding the details of the method of the arrangement of the several Parts will be found at the beginning of each.

The discovery of the Ghent fragments at the dispersal of the Vergauwen Collection at the beginning of the present month was too important to be passed over in silence. The results of an examination of them have, therefore, been thrown into an Appendix.

W. M. C.

CAMBRIDGE,
30 *April*, 1884.

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AND

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WOODCUTTERS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE WOODCUTTERS.

ON THE METHOD ADOPTED IN THE HISTORY.

The general scope of the work has been explained in the Introduction, and the nature of the subdivision into Sections will be found described in the note prefixed to the Catalogue (Part II., page 194). In a strict chronological arrangement, the sections would have followed one another in accordance with the date of the first rise or appearance of each particular Woodcutter; but any rigid adherence to such a plan would have prevented an intelligible treatment of the subject. While following broadly the order of time, the several workmen, or schools of workmen, have been brought together by grouping the Sections into Chapters, so that the rise, development, and decay, of a local school of woodcutting may be followed by the reader without difficulty. First come the Block-books, which are here treated only as affording materials for the later printer who wished to illustrate his books (Ch. I.). Then come the workers in pure line (Ch. II.). Then, linking closely on to these last, come the workmen employed by Gerard Leeu at Gouda and Antwerp; the Haarlem workman and his school, also nearly connected with Leeu; and the foreign woodcuts introduced by Leeu from Germany and France (Ch. IV., V.). Four Chapters are then devoted successively to the work produced at Zwolle (Ch. VI.), at Delft (Ch. VII.), in Brabant (at Brussels and Louvain, Ch. VIII.), and at a group of places in Holland (Gouda, Deventer, Leyden, and Schoonhoven, Ch. IX.); and the History is closed with a Chapter on the late Antwerp woodcuts which belong almost wholly to the last decade of the century (Ch. X.). The diagrams enumerated in Sect. 38 have not been thought of sufficient importance to require any discussion in the History. What concerns the productions of Arend de Keysere's woodcutter at Ghent, brought to light since the following sheets were printed, will be found in the Appendix (pages 349—359).

WOODCUTTERS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE WOODCUTTERS.

CHAPTER I.

WOODCUTS FROM THE BLOCK-BOOKS.

1. The *Biblia Pauperum* (used 1487—1500). 2. The *Canticum Canticorum* (used 1494). 3. The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (used 1481—1484). 4. The *Boec van den Houte* (used 1483).

Sect. 1. The *Biblia Pauperum* (used 1487—1500).

The earliest existing productions which can be called prints from carved blocks of wood are certain stray sheets, bearing rough outline images of saints, and scattered up and down, in small quantity, among the libraries and museums of Europe. So far as can be gathered from internal evidence the dates of such of these prints as still exist lie somewhere in the 15th century. Mr Weale indeed has called attention to records of a lawsuit at Bruges, towards the close of the 14th century, from the depositions in which it is clear that a set of

woodcutters were even then at work in that prosperous city, carving figures upon blocks of wood and taking impressions from them. Unfortunately we can point to no surviving specimen of the industry of these forgotten craftsmen. Our present concern, however, is not with the interesting but mysterious relics of this period of infancy of the art of woodcutting; but we must pause for a moment over the second group of productions, by which its increasing strength was manifested to the world—the so-called Block-books.

A Block-book is a book printed wholly from carved blocks of wood. Such volumes usually consist of pictorial matter only; if any text is added in illustration it likewise is carved upon the wood-block, and not put together with moveable types. The whole of any one page, sometimes the whole of two pages, is printed from a single block of wood. The manner in which the printing was done is peculiar. The block was first thoroughly wetted with a thin watery ink, then a sheet of damp paper was laid upon it, and the back of the paper was carefully rubbed with some kind of dabber or burnisher, till an impression from the ridges of the carved block had been transferred to the paper. Of course in this fashion a sheet could only be printed on one side; the only block-book which does not possess this characteristic is the *Legend of S. Servatius* in the Royal Library of Brussels, and that is an exceptional volume in many respects besides.

If a man wanted to set up as printer of books all he had to do was to buy a set of wood-blocks and a rubber, and his apparatus was complete. It seems probable that wealthy persons and religious institutions were wont to possess such sets of blocks, and, when occasion arose, they printed a set of sheets for presentation to a friend, or, in the case of convents, for sale to the passing pilgrim. A printer of Block-books had no need to serve an apprenticeship; any neat-handed man could print for himself. Mons. E. van Even has discovered the inventory of the possessions of Jean de Hinsberg (Bishop of Liège, 1419—1455) and his sister, a nun in the convent of Bethany, near Mechlin. Amongst other items in the list are two of very great interest to us—

Unum instrumentum ad imprimendas scripturas et ymagines.

Novem printe lignee ad imprimendas ymagines cum quatuordecim aliis lapideis printis.

It follows that in the days of the Block-books the class of printers had scarcely begun to arise. People purchased blocks from the woodcutter, not books from the printer. The woodcutter's business was to engrave sets of blocks, or single blocks, for which he knew he would be likely to have a sale. Thus, instead of continually engraving new subjects, he restricted himself for the most part to certain known series of subjects for which a demand existed. Such a series, for example, was the so-called *Biblia Pauperum*, or set of figures illustrative of the sacred history, by aid of which, it is said, the preacher could assist the understanding of the more stupid classes. Such a series again was the *Ars Moriendi*, a volume of pictures of the various temptations to which a sick man is exposed and of his triumph over them, intended to be carried by the priest to the bedside of the sick man for the comforting of his soul, if thus perchance comfort might arise. We are enabled in this manner to account for the fact that such a large number of editions of these books exist. There are but few block-books, but of each there are many editions; and each edition is so like all the rest, that often it is scarcely possible to distinguish one from another. How many editions of the *Biblia Pauperum* survive I cannot say, but I have been able to separate those in the following list. Which of them is the first, and which are the copies, there is no possibility of deciding at present.

Edition A. (Sotheby[1] 1)—Earl of Pembroke; Mr Holford (Inglis copy); National Library, Paris.

Edition B. (Sotheby 2)—British Museum; Duke of Devonshire; Earl Spencer (copy A); Mr Loscombe; M. Six van Hillegom; Meerman Museum at the Hague (imperfect); Court Library, Munich; Court Library, Vienna; Libraries at Gottweig, Dresden, Hannover, and Passau (incomplete).

[1] I give no references to Heineken, as his descriptions are utterly inaccurate. Sotheby's accounts are in his *Principia Typographica*, London, 1858, 3 vols. folio.

Edition C. (Sotheby 3)—British Museum; Duke of Devonshire; National Library, Paris.

Edition D. (Sotheby 4)—Bodleian Library, Oxford; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge[1]; Earl Spencer (copy B); National Library, Paris; Meerman Museum at the Hague; Darmstadt.

Edition E. (Sotheby 5)—British Museum (Print Room); the Duc d'Aumale.

Edition F. (Sotheby 6)—Bodleian Library, Oxford; Court Library, Vienna; Court Library, Munich (2 copies).

Edition G. (Heineken 1)—Lord Vernon; Leipzig.

I do not mean to say that these seven sets of cuts were all made by one woodcutter, but it is not unlikely that two or more are by the same hand; and, of course, for one edition that survives, several have probably perished. I think it exceedingly likely that my edition B will, on further investigation, be broken up into two editions. The number of copies of it which exist in the south of Germany and Austria points to the possibility that the blocks from which those copies were printed belonged to some South German convent.

The same general description applies to all editions of the book; the following has been taken from the copy preserved in

[1] A noticeable fact in the Cambridge edition is that it presents a marked difference in appearance between the cuts in the first and last halves of the book, not in the style of cutting but in the printing. Those marked with the letters of the first alphabet are as light in tint as the rest are heavy. Were it not that we are sure that the book has been in its present condition since the year in which it came into the College Library with the other books bequeathed by Archbishop Parker, we might be inclined to hold the opinion that it had been formed, at a late period, of parts of two incomplete copies, one of which had been kept in a damp place. We must, however, conclude that the last ten sheets were more carefully printed with a somewhat darker ink than the others, and possibly not at the same time. They do indeed look somewhat earlier as they hardly present a crack. So far as I am able to gather from Sotheby's remarks this edition corresponds with that copy belonging to Lord Spencer, referred to by him as Spencer B. The blocks however are less worn. They do not correspond with those of any of Heincken's editions. In this Sotheby has fallen into error. He thinks Heincken's third edition is the same as Spencer B. But Heineken took his description of that edition from the copy now in the Grenville Library at the British Museum, and this Sotheby recognises as printed from different blocks to those employed for either of Lord Spencer's.

the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The volume consists of twenty sheets, printed only on one side, each sheet bearing an impression from a separate block. The working of the book is by separate sheets and not by quires. The recto of the first leaf is blank; its verso and the recto of the second bear the impression of the first block. Then follow two blank pages, then two more printed ones, and so on. In the Cambridge copy the blank pages are pasted together; but this was not always done. Each page is broken up into compartments, and illustrates one subject, the arrangement of all the pages being similar. They are divided horizontally into three portions. The centre of the upper one is occupied by two windows separated by a pillar. Through each of these windows the upper part of the figure of a prophet appears. His name is written below him on the window sill, and he holds in one hand a long scroll which stretches out to the edge of the page, and bears a text referring to the central subject. The spaces on the right and left of the double window contain several lines of text, extracted from the Vulgate, and referring to the general subject of the page.

Immediately under the pillar which divides the prophets, a letter is placed, marking the position of the page in the series. The first twenty are designated by simple letters, the remainder by the same letters placed between two dots.

The middle division of the page is divided into three parts by pillars which support low, almost flat, arches. Under each of these an event from the Bible history is represented. The central subject, which forms the keynote of the whole, is from the New Testament; those on the left and right are parallels, more or less illustrative of it, chosen from the Old.

The lowest horizontal division is like the upper one. There is a double window in the centre with prophets holding scrolls, bearing their names and a text referring to the central subject; whilst, in the blank space on each side, is a leonine verse, which relates to the compartment immediately above it. A similar verse, applying to the central subject, runs across the bottom of the cut.

From this description it will be seen that there are one

hundred and sixty figures of prophets. They are not, however, all different (and this, I believe, has not been noted before) but many of them occur again and again. Thus, David is found thirty-four times, Isaiah twenty-four, and so on, there being, in all, at least thirty-nine different figures. Not that the same man is always represented in the same position, but he is always visibly the same man, wearing the same clothing and most easily recognised by his hat, for all thirty-nine hats are different. It is further worthy of remark that every now and then a mistake occurs, the names under two adjacent figures being accidentally transposed. Now it is not likely that this would have happened in the original edition of the book, but a mistake of the kind might very easily creep into a copy.

The style of the series has been so frequently described, and, on the whole, with so little practical result, that I content myself with merely quoting the words of M. Renouvier[1].

"Ces compositions souvent trop simples ont quelquefois un excellent arrangement ... Les figures, assez bien proportionnées, quoique avec des têtes généralement trop grosses pour le corps, et plus grosses pour les hommes que pour les femmes, décèlent, sous leurs linéaments rudimentaires, leur expression grossière, et leur taille faite à tâtons, une certaine habilité et un esprit subtil: elles ne tombent pas dans la charge de la grimace, malgré leur naïveté copieuse ... Les têtes sont variées, étudiées dans la réalité et quelquefois très-heureusement expressives ... Pour résumer la manière du dessinateur dans ces défauts et ces qualités, je dirai qu'il est adroit par instinct et maladroit par ignorance. C'est peut-être le caractère le moins trompeur de la primitivité de l'artiste. L'habilité de sa main et la vivacité de la composition sont trahies à chaque instant par l'inexpérience du procédé. Il a le contour trop timide ou trop appuyé, mais il sait accentuer les traits essentiels: ses corps, qui paraissent épais dans leurs draperies, prennent une tournure svelte dans les rares nudités qu'il se permet. Toutes ces façons archaïques du dessin ont leurs analogies dans la taille, et je ne comprends

[1] *Histoire de l'origine et des progrès de la gravure dans les Pays-Bas.* Mémoires couronnés par l'Académie royale de Belgique.—Tom. x. Brussels, 1860, 8vo. p. 62.

pas comment Heinecken, Zani, et Ottley ont été amenés à distinguer dans ces planches un graveur différent du dessinateur. Les tailles sont épaisses, épargnées et n'obtiennent pas des effets d'ombre; mais elles accentuent et varient les objets dans leurs aspects: les chevaux, les moutons, les arbres même, malgré le système arrêté et puéril avec lequel ils sont façonnés, produisent à peu de frais un ensemble souvent pittoresque . . . Les qualités qui ressortent de toutes ces observations appartiennent à une école de dessin déjà faite et considérable, ayant pour don principal le sentiment vif de la réalité en même temps qu'un esprit subtil et mystique. Cette école ne peut être que celle qui florissait dans les provinces néerlandaises gouvernées par Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne, sous l'influence des Van Eyck."

With this criticism of Renouvier's I should, on the whole, be inclined to agree; a further and more accurate examination of style may, however, be advisable, at some future time, when we have firmer ground to go upon.

The date of the production of this series of blocks is, as has been said, completely lost in obscurity. Various facts have been adduced, tending to indicate an exceedingly early origin, but they all require authentication, owing to the known inaccuracy and partizanship of the authors who have written on the subject, Renouvier excepted,—qualities which have ended in throwing the works of otherwise learned men into disrepute. Five manuscripts of the book in various states are known[1]. They are at Munich (15th cent.), Wolfenbüttel (now lost), Leipsig (Weigel copy), and Constance (13th cent.). Of these the Munich copy bears the closest resemblance to the block-book, from which indeed it may have been copied. Heineken considered the designs to have been taken from a series of ninth century (!) reliefs in the cloister of the cathedral at Bremen. Lessing thought that the book had been copied from painted glass windows in the convent of Hirschau in Suabia, since burnt

[1] Laib and Schwarz, *Biblia Pauperum.* Zurich, 1867, p. 5. Meerman, *Origines Typographicæ.* Hagæ Comit. 1765, 4to. Fiorillo, *Geschichte der zeichnenden Kunst in Deutschland.* Hannover, 1815, 8vo.

down[1]. It is, however, hardly necessary to say that many so-called copies of this period are nothing but productions of entirely independent artists working, according to the manner of the day, in adherence to a fixed and recognised type. When we find Berjeau saying that the *Biblia Pauperum* cuts were copied by Martin Schongauer, Israel van Mechenen, Albert Dürer and most of the ordinary Dutch woodcutters besides, it is evident that he has got himself into a complete labyrinth and lost his way, and unless we sternly refuse to start on vague ramblings of this kind we may come to the same end.

One of the copies of this book belonging to Lord Spencer (Copy B) is still bound in its original binding with an edition of the *Apocalypse* (Sotheby's fourth). The latter is to all appearance German, and is painted in the style of colouring which we associate with South Germany. The binding is impressed with the following inscription, *Iste liber est fratris Ulrici Gyslinger lectoris in Ulma minorum et illigatus est anno domini* MCCCCLXVII *per me Iohannes Ricenbach degyllengen*[2]. Sotheby also mentions[3] that the Grenville copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, now in the British Museum (Grenv. 12090), was, when in the Gaignat collection, bound up with the third edition of the Apocalypse. The latter is now in the possession of the Duc d'Aumale, another copy of the same edition being in the King's Library in the British Museum.

The Horn copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, which passed through the hands of Mr Inglis and Lord Vernon and is now in the possession of Mr Holford, was, when it first came to Horn,

[1] Plenty of notices of this kind are mentioned by Berjeau, *Biblia Pauperum*, reproduced in facsimile. London, 1859, fol.

[2] Ottley, *An inquiry into the origin and early history of engraving.* London, 1816, 3 vols. 4to.—Vol. I. p. 100, note.

[3] Sotheby, *Principia Typographica.*—London, 1858, 3 vols. fol. Vol. I. pp. 22, 59. The Spencer B copy is, as already mentioned, of the same edition as the Cambridge copy. Three leaves of the same edition are preserved in the Print Room of the British Museum, D. 2. The binding of a volume in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris bears the following inscription: *Per me Johannem Richenbach capellanum in Gylingen illigatus est anno Domini*, 1469. See *Bibliothèque Nationale. Notice des objets exposés*—Paris, 1878, No. 486 p. 95.

bound up with a copy of the *Ars Moriendi* and with one of the Apocalypse. The original binding was ruthlessly destroyed, and Horn was only able to state from memory that it had "the following words, stamped at the extremity of the binding, towards the edge of the squares: '*Hic Liber Relegatus fuit per Plebanum Ecclesie—Anno Domini*, 142(8).'" The last figure of the inscription he was not sure about, but he felt quite certain of the other three. When, however, it is remembered that the figure 5, as then written, bore a strong resemblance to a 2, as we now write it, it does not seem improbable that Horn's memory deceived him, and that the date borne by the binding was the more credible one of between 1450 and 1460. The whole matter, however, is unsatisfactory, and the destruction of the binding has deprived us of a most valuable piece of corroborative evidence. All we can say with any tolerable approach to certainty is that the book was printed not later than 1467, and this must be understood for the present to rest on the authority of Sotheby.

The preceding account of the *Biblia Pauperum* is, strictly speaking, beyond our present province; but it has seemed better to insert it here, that the reader may clearly see what the blocks are to which his attention must now be called.

On the eve of the Epiphany 1487, Peter van Os, the printer of Zwolle, published an edition of the *Epistles and Gospels* in Dutch, illustrated with a series of woodcuts which on examination are found to be cut-up portions of the set of blocks originally employed for the printing of Edition B of the *Biblia Pauperum*. From this time on, such cut-up portions were continually used for the illustration of books which issued from this and the allied press worked by Barmentloe in the neighbouring town of Hasselt. The last volume known to have contained any of them is the *Vulgaria* printed by Van Os in 1500, the title-page of which is adorned with one of the figures of prophets above referred to. That the style of the woodcuts afterwards made at Zwolle was much influenced by that of the *Biblia Pauperum* can scarcely be maintained. Because Zwolle is the only town where the original blocks can be shewn to have been, it does not follow that they were engraved there, though

we cannot now fix for them any other locality of origin. We leave them therefore at Zwolle till further investigation enables us to place them elsewhere.

SECT. 2. The *Canticum Canticorum* (used 1494).

Certainly the most beautiful of the Block-books of the Low Countries is this volume of illustrations to the Song of Solomon. Four editions of it exist, and of these the first mentioned is by far the best, and presents all the characteristics of originality.

Edition A. (Sotheby 1)—British Museum; Earl Spencer (no title heading); National Library, Paris; Haarlem Library; Court Library, Munich (2 copies).

Edition B. (Sotheby 2)—Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Edition C. (Sotheby 3)—British Museum, National Library, Paris[1].

Edition D.—Court Library, Vienna.

The volume in every case is composed of eight sheets, printed only on one side, and bound together in the same manner as the *Biblia Pauperum.* The whole of each sheet seems to have been printed from one block. The woodcuts on all the leaves are similar. Each is divided by a double horizontal line into two compartments, of which there are therefore thirty-two in all. Christ, the Bride, her attendant maidens, and angels are the persons represented in various combinations. Some heraldic bearings are met with, but no satisfactory explanation of them has yet been given. The woodcutting is very carefully done, and the lines are beautifully finished. The figures are more slim in form, and more thoroughly imbued with the mystic mediæval spirit, than those of the *Biblia Pauperum.*

The original series, as has been said, was copied three or four times. Of the later history of the blocks of these copies we have no information. The blocks of the original edition seem

[1] The *Canticum Canticorum,* numbered Xyl. 31 at Munich, is either of this or of a fifth and quite unknown edition. Sotheby's account is too vague.

to have come into the hands of Peter van Os along with those of the *Biblia Pauperum.* In 1494 he printed an edition of John Mauberne's *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium,* adorning the title-page with an impression from the upper half of the block from which the first page of the block-book was printed. The reader may compare the facsimiles of the block in its two states in Holtrop, *Monuments Typographiques,* plates 6 (109), and 91 (110).

The *Canticum,* and one edition of the *Ars Moriendi,* are linked together by a discovery of Mr Bradshaw's[1]. He noted that the imperfect copy of the First Edition of the *Ars Moriendi,* which is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is patched with shreds of *another copy* of the same work and of a copy of the *Canticum*—"a fact which points to waste sheets of these two works having been in the same binder's office, and that probably not far from their original home." It is worthy of note in this connexion that, in 1488 and 1491, Peter van Os published editions of the *Sterfboeck,* or *Ars Moriendi* in Dutch, illustrated by prints which, if not pressed from blocks used in any earlier block-book, were at any rate copied from such very closely indeed.

Sect. 3. The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (used 1481—1484).

The book we now have to deal with is one about which so much has been written that we can afford to dismiss it with comfortable brevity. The problems it offers for solution belong chiefly to the branch of typography, and so are beyond the scope of our present enterprise. Four editions of the book exist, and of them copies can be seen at most of the principal libraries. They are as follows:—

Edition A. (Latin, in one fount)—The Libraries at Paris, the Hague, Brussels, Munich, Vienna, Florence, etc.

[1] See H. Bradshaw, "List of the Founts of Type and Woodcut Devices used by Printers in Holland in the Fifteenth Century." London, 1871, p. 5.

Edition B. (Dutch, in two founts)—The Hague Library.

Edition C. (Latin, with 20 pp. of woodcut text)—Earl Spencer, the Libraries at the Hague, Haarlem, Berlin, and Hannover.

Edition D. (Dutch, in one fount)—Earl Spencer, the Libraries at the Hague, Haarlem, and Lille[1].

Unlike those block-books previously described, the sheets of the *Speculum* are gathered up into quires, but they are only printed on one side. At the head of each printed page is a cut divided into two compartments, right and left. Below this comes text in double columns printed in Dutch or Latin, and from a form composed of moveable types, or from an engraved block of wood, as the case may be. The same wood-blocks are used in all four editions, and it is probable that all four issued from the office of the same printer. In the case of pages where the text is set up in moveable types, the text portion is printed with black ink in a press, while the cut is printed in brown ink by rubbing in the old fashion. The subjects of the cuts resemble the *Biblia Pauperum* series, and illustrate the Biblical story. More than one manuscript *Speculum* of earlier date can be pointed to, and perhaps such a volume was the original from which the book was copied. By observing the breakages in the cuts it is easy to discover the order in which the four editions were issued; it is that given above. The surprising fact resulting from this is, that the edition, in which a portion of the text is cut on blocks of wood, is later than two of those printed wholly with moveable types. From typographical considerations Mr Bradshaw was able to shew that the date of the book could be thrown back as far as the years 1471—73. The same founts of type were used for the printing of other books, and the whole set must be classed together as the work of one press. In what town this press was worked we do not know, but for the present we are forced to leave it at Utrecht, because it is there that the cuts, originally used in the printing of the *Speculum*, make

[1] See Ch. Paeile, *Sur l'Invention de l'Imprimerie.*—Lille, 1859.

their appearance once more in books about which all particulars are known.

The printer, into whose hands the *Speculum* blocks passed, was John Veldener. Between the years 1475 and 1477 he had been printing at Louvain, and it is clear that he was not then in possession of them. At the end of 1478 he began work at Utrecht, still, however, without this set of blocks. For his second edition of the *Fasciculus temporum*, published 14 Feb. 1480, he had a few new blocks made, some of which were copied from *Speculum* cuts. At last, on the 19th of April 1481, he published an *Epistles and Gospels* in Dutch, and into that he introduced two cut-up portions of the real old *Speculum* blocks. This was the last book Veldener is known to have printed at Utrecht. For two years we hear nothing more of him, and then he reappears at Kuilenburg, whither he had removed his presses. There, on the 27th Sept. 1483, he printed a quarto edition of the *Speculum* in Dutch. For it he cut up all the original blocks into their separate compartments, and thus suited them to fit into the upper portion of a quarto page. He had, moreover, twelve new cuts made in imitation of these severed portions of the old set, and he printed them along with the rest. Once more, in 1484, he employed a couple of the old set in the Dutch *Herbarius*, which was the last book known to have been issued by him at Kuilenburg. Thenceforward the *Speculum* cuts appear no more.

Sect. 4. The *Boec van den Houte* (used 1483).

As I have shewn elsewhere[1], a block-book must have existed, of which no copy has come down to us. Its subject was the legendary History of the Holy Cross. I have not been able to discover what was the exact arrangement of its pages. There was, at any rate, across the top of each a cut in two compartments, like those in the folio *Speculum*, and under each compartment was possibly a four-line stanza cut upon the wood. This would account for the upper half of the page. Perhaps the same arrangement was repeated in the lower half. If so, there would be upon each page four stanzas and four cuts illus-

[1] *Bibliographer*. London, 1883, Vol. IV. p. 32.

trative of them. Assuming this to have been the case, the volume consisted of eight sheets printed on one side in the ordinary manner of the block-books.

A German edition of such a block-book is known to us from a facsimile given by Weigel in his *Collectio*, only in that case there were three rows of cuts and stanzas on each page.

In style, the Dutch *History of the Cross* connects itself with the *Biblia Pauperum*. It was somewhat more rudely cut on the wood than that, but done in the same manner. The earlier blocks were perhaps more carefully cut than those towards the end of the book. In all the prints the faces are full of character and expression, wrinkled and furrowed sometimes to an exaggerated extent. For the rest the drawing is rude and often quite wanting in grace. The robes hang heavily and stiffly except where they are broken by the knee, which is usually stuck out for that purpose. The shade hatchings are arranged in bands without reference to the lines of the drapery, which they cross or not as the case may be. Long hatchings are sometimes used in the shadows; hooked lines designate folds. Every now and then a pleasing figure can be found, for instance, that of the angel at the gate of Paradise, but this is exceptional. Whenever horses are introduced they are good. The landscape backgrounds are of the simplest; the hills are rounded lumps, with little notches cut out here and there for precipices, and mushroom-like trees on the top. The treatment of water is peculiar.

Like the blocks of the *Speculum* so those of the *History of the Cross* passed into the possession of John Veldener. Whether he bought them at Utrecht or Kuilenburg we cannot say, but he began to use them at the latter town in the first book he printed there (6th March 1483). This was a *History of the Cross* in quarto. He treated these blocks exactly as he had done those of the *Speculum*. He cut them up into their separate compartments, threw the woodcut text (if any) away, and then printed one of the cuts on each page of his book, and under it, in his ordinary type, the stanza that belonged to it. It is from Veldener's edition alone that the original volume is known to us[1].

[1] Berjeau's facsimile is well known. An English translation of the Dutch poem is subjoined to it.

CHAPTER II.

LOUVAIN, UTRECHT, AND BRUGES.

(1475—1484.)

5. The first Louvain Woodcutter (1475—1477). 6. The Utrecht Woodcutter (1479—1484). 7. The Bruges Woodcutter (1484).

Sect. 5. *The first Louvain Woodcutter* (1475—1477).

In the Block-books the illustrations were the main part; such text as was carved below or about them was entirely subsidiary to the pictorial effect. With the first books printed by means of moveable types the case was absolutely the reverse, and thus a strong line of demarcation separates the two classes, the style of the engraving being no less different than the manner of the printing.

Gerard Leeu began to print at Gouda in the middle of the year 1477, but it is not till three years later that we find him adorning his books with cuts. Printing commences at Delft on the 10th January 1477; woodcut illustrations are first used there in 1482. And so it was at Louvain. John of Westfalia, abandoning Alost, where Thierry Martens had been working in partnership with him since 1473, is found printing there on the 9th December 1474; and, by the year 1475, John Veldener had arrived from Germany, and set up in the same place. Lastly, Conrad of Westfalia, who had been printing somewhere since the 11th May 1473, is known to have matriculated at Louvain on the 27th February 1476, and printed a book in that town on the 1st December in the same year. Notwithstanding this activity, we meet with very few books indeed, printed at Louvain, before the year 1483, containing illustrations—indeed, we may say with none, for the engravings we are about to discuss can hardly be called illustrations.

Taken all together, the blocks are fourteen in number; and this is the list of them, with the date of the first appearance of each appended. They all seem to be the work of one hand.

John of Westfalia's Portrait—21 Nov. 1475.

Veldener's device of two shields and nine other cuts in the *Fasciculus Temporum*—29 Dec. 1475.

The *Fleur de Lys*—April 1476.

Conrad of Westfalia's Portrait—1 Dec. 1476.

Maximilian's Portrait—Nov. 1477.

The style of the execution of the first four is visibly the same. The last I have not seen. It occurs only in *Bruni carmen in adventu Maximiliani.* One copy of this is preserved in the Library of the Duc d'Arenberg—for the present inaccessible; another is said to be in the National Library at Paris, but has not been forthcoming when I have been there; the last leaf of the Cambridge copy is wanting. I am informed that the cut is executed in the same manner as the other portraits. I have spoken of them elsewhere, with rather exaggerated praise, in some such words as the following:—"There is a boldness and controlled power in them shown in the carving out of the profiles—especially in that of Conrad, bespeaking it at once a real likeness. The main lines are few and simple, but wonderfully well considered; at the same time, they are relieved here and there by spaces of fine shade lines, as under the chin and along the eyebrow, giving evidence of considerable fineness of manipulation. The hair is excellent. It comes to me as a welcome example of what good woodcutting should be, stress being laid not upon lines but upon spaces. This it is which marks all great woodcutters, and is seen as much in those designed by Holbein or Dürer as in Bewick's."

In John of Westfalia's portrait, the background is left blank, the face and neck only being cut out. The outline of the cap is rendered by a white line, which is always a mistake; and the hair, though good, is not nearly so good as in Conrad's. The spaces of fine shade which appear in the latter are supplied in the former by thick black lines. Conrad's portrait is a distinct advance: not only is the work better done, but it is better and more elaborately planned. The head is surrounded by a circular

border, of simple but effective design, and the space within it is filled with a network pattern of studied *ir*regularity, which serves to set off the head pleasantly, and yet attracts no attention to itself.

Both Veldener and Conrad belonged to the same college at Louvain—the one whose badge was the *Fleur de Lys*—and they both employ that badge as a kind of printer's device in their editions of a book by the head of their college, to wit, Maneken's *Epistolares formulæ*. The tiny cut is very neatly finished, and looks, so far as we can judge of so trifling a thing, to be the work of the same hand.

The question naturally suggests itself, Is this all that remains of the work of so good an artist? Where and how did he acquire his skill? Was he perhaps an engraver, known to us by impressions from anonymous plates, but as yet unrecognised? In fact, there is no end to the questions that may be asked in connexion with this subject of early woodcutting and engraving; unfortunately there is an end, and a very quick one, to the answers returnable. In these cuts we have all the characteristics of the work of a skilled engraver's hand; but, as it is well-nigh impossible to reason from the style of a wood-cut to that of an engraving, we are compelled to remain in ignorance.

Veldener's device, first used by him 29th Dec. 1475, must also be referred to this artist. It represents two shields, the left bearing the mark of the printer, the right the arms of Louvain; between them is the name Veldener. He took this with him when he moved to Utrecht, and adapted it for use there by cutting out the arms from the right shield, which thenceforward remains blank. In this state it reappears once more with him when he again moved to Kuilenburg.

On the 29th December 1475[1], Veldener published his first edition of the *Fasciculus temporum*. There is a Cologne edition of the preceding year, "*per me arnoldum ther huernen*," illustrated by cuts. These Veldener, no doubt, took as models for the few

[1] The book is dated 1476, iv. *Kal. Jan. secundum stilum romanæ curiæ.* The Court of Rome began the year at Christmas. Hence the year 1476 is to be considered as having begun on 25 Dec. 1475, according to the ordinary reckoning. The date of the book, therefore, is that indicated above.

small cuts which he interspersed here and there with his text, but he cannot by any means be said to have copied them. They are all small, and are not made to fit either the pages or the columns; but they are introduced here and there, and the type is arranged to pad them round. They are worked in simple outline, clean cut and unambitious. The lines, which are not remarkable for fineness or grace of curve, are only the most necessary. A few shade hatchings are introduced, but they too are of the simplest. In two or three of the cuts, representing fortresses or towns, it must be admitted that the mixture of walls and roofs is rather confused, and the perspective is of the vaguest. Still the little bits of foreground, with a tree and a mound or two of earth, are really much better than what is found in their place in most later cuts. The trees are natural, capable of growth, with their foliage arranged in masses and their trunks rough with knobs. They are not in the least conventional. Hardly any use is made of pointed hatchings; thin straight ones take their place. The most important cut of the series is the *Salvator mundi;* we meet with it again in more than one of the Utrecht books. The figure is indeed somewhat disproportioned, and the face wanting in expression, whilst the drapery is overloaded with small hatchings which do not conduce to any general harmony of effect. The scroll, too, flying in the air, involved in coils, is not in itself a sightly object. Still the cut, as a whole, must not be condemned; it is evidently the result of careful work, the lines being evenly, and the main outlines gracefully laid. The balance of it is good and evidently studied, the purpose of the objectionable scroll being, in part, to attain this end.

It is possible that other work by this woodcutter may exist, but I have not as yet come across any. In April 1476, Veldener produced an edition of Maneken's Letters, already referred to, which he says it took him the whole month to print. Of this I have been unable to find a copy. One is described by La Serna[1]; it is said to have been in the National Library at Paris, but

[1] De la Serna Santander, *Dictionnaire Bibliographique choisi du xv^me^ siècle.*— Brussels, 1805—1807, 3 vols. 8vo., No. 1379.

was not forthcoming when I asked for it in 1880. Lambinet[1] had seen two copies, one of which used to be in the University Library at Louvain, but it is no longer there. M. E. van Even says[2] with reference to this book, "La figure du Lys, arme parlante du collége du même nom, dit Lambinet, est gravée au dessous de cette épître; et plus bas, le frontispice du Château Cesar." A reference to the authorities referred to by M. Campbell under the number 1201 in his Catalogue, has not placed me in possession of any further details; so that it is only an assumption on my part that the cut referred to is a reimpression from one of the blocks made for the *Fasciculus*.

When, before 8th Nov. 1478, Veldener moved his presses to Utrecht, he took the whole set of blocks with him, and used them all again there in his Dutch edition of the *Fasciculus* (14th Feb. 1480). In that book, however, new cuts by a fresh hand make their appearance; but we never meet with any more made by the same hand as the first series. Veldener, therefore, was clearly not a maker of cuts himself; he employed workmen in the towns where he happened to be printing. This justifies us in assuming that the maker of the first series was a resident at Louvain, and did not move to Utrecht with Veldener. It is quite possible that he was the same man as the cutter of the portraits.

Three diagrams of the degrees of relationship are employed by John of Westfalia, in 1480 and the following year, in editions of *Andreas super arboribus consanguinitatis, etc.* They seem to have been adopted as models by Gerard Leeu of Gouda, for the diagrams in his *Seven Sacraments* of 1484. Another set of diagrams, eight in number, appears in the *Imago Mundi*, printed at this press before the year 1483. It is impossible to refer them to any particular woodcutter, as they can hardly be said to possess any style.

[1] P. Lambinet, *Origine de l'Imprimerie.*—Paris, 1810, 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. ii. p. 83.

[2] *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge.*—Brussels, 1845—1873, 29 vols. 8vo. Vol. i. p. 58.

SECT. 6. *The Utrecht Woodcutter* (1479—1484).

THE first book in which a woodcut is found, printed at Utrecht during what I may call the second or historical period, is the *Sielentroest* of 7th May 1479. The cut is an octavo device. It has been much commented upon by previous writers, who have striven to find in it dark hints about the inventor of Printing. The subject is in reality perfectly simple, and the cut is meant, primarily, as an illustration to the book in which it occurs, though, secondarily, also as a device. A teacher and scholar stand on a pavement in the foreground, whilst Moses is represented behind, kneeling on a mountain, in the act of receiving the Tables of Stone. This is, of course, the natural illustration, as Holtrop pointed out, for a book which contains an explanation of the Ten Commandments, in the form of a conversation between a master and a disciple. At the bottom of the cut, however, is a monogram, which has been variously read G l, and G t; and which, presumably, refers to some new printer. Who he was we have no means of proving. He is only known to have worked during the years 1479 and 1480—a period which falls within that of Veldener's activity in the same town; and he used, as we shall see, cuts by the same hands as those employed by the latter printer. This shows that there was some connexion between the two presses, but does not lead us any further.

Another device by the same artist, and bearing the same monogram, is found in a second edition of the *Sielentroest*, printed six months later, 10th Nov. 1479. It represents two shields suspended from branches: that on the left bears the arms of Utrecht with a little figure of St Martin, the patron saint of the town; that on the right the arms of the printer—three hammers on a bend. Unfortunately the name of the family to which these arms belong has not yet been discovered.

The most remarkable book sent forth from this press, and the last in which cuts are found, is the *Boeck des gulden throens*, of 1480. It contains, altogether, twenty-five illustrations. Of these, five are from the same octavo block, and represent the

Elder and the Soul (as a girl) standing before a wall, Christ being seen in the clouds above; one is a small device with the enigmatical monogram; and the remainder are impressions from various combinations of three blocks, chosen in turn from a larger number. These blocks consist of a set of octavo architectural borders, within which two smaller blocks can be printed side by side, one representing an Elder and the other the Soul. There are, in all, six Elders, five Souls, and four Borders. This would admit of no less than a hundred and twenty different combinations; nevertheless, though only nineteen are required, we find four separate combinations occurring twice over, so that out of so large a number of possible changes only fifteen are employed. It would seem then that the object the woodcutter had in view in this curious method was rather to make his work in cutting easier, than to produce variety in his results, the absurdity of repeating the same illustrations again and again not being felt at this period.

All the preceding cuts and devices were clearly the work of one and the same hand. Their style is very marked. The outlines are fine and sharp, the hatchings thin and not long, separated from each other by considerable distances, and clear of the outlines. Fringed lines are seldom used, lines with edges hacked like a saw, never. The nature of the series, of course, precludes the possibility of having a background, but this is not the case with the octavo cut and the devices. In these the figures stand on simple tesselated pavements, ruled with clear-crossing lines; behind them is a wall dotted over with short thin strokes, pleasantly irregular in form and position. The background of buildings is necessarily on a small scale, yet the clearness of the lines is none the less remarkable.

The design of the figures, it must be admitted, is deserving of praise. Their quiet simplicity is pleasing, and a certain feeling of earnestness is discoverable, expressed either in the gestures or the faces. They recall at once the two little cuts at the end of Leeu's *Dialogus* of this same year—the "Man and Woman," and the "Life and Death." There is the same child-like *naïveté*, the same clearness and simplicity of line and slightness of shade, the same carefulness of workmanship.

When we come to treat of Leeu's artist we shall notice further relations between them. The draperies are very nicely laid; there is no exaggeration of fold, no extravagance of any sort. The girl with her dress tucked up into her waistband is particularly charming. Contrary to what is usually the case, the hair is the worst part of all. It is thick and heavy, and hangs more like a sack than a substance wavy and soft. In one or two cases it is prettily rolled back from the ears, showing the round shape of the little head, as in the *Exercitium* block-book.

The canopies are a much more elaborate architectural effort than is generally found in other cuts of the early period; but the architecture cannot be called good. The stone is thought of as something bendable and twistable, a flabby devil being in it, sapping its life and strength. As wood-carving, perhaps, it would do a good deal better, but it is not intended for wood-carving; and, if it were, no carved woodwork that takes its inspiration from stone can ever be good.

Veldener does not appear to have used cuts made by this hand before 1480. In that year, however, there appear in his possession a certain number of additional cuts made for the *Fasciculus*, a folio border, two large initials, and a quarto device. We notice in all of these the same simplicity and grace of design, the same clear lines, and the same open spaces between them. In the border and device we discover a greater boldness in the main outlines, but this is naturally accounted for by the enlarged scale. The border, in four pieces, is formed of tendrils with flowers, which are very well arranged. It is quite in the style of the borders which we find in the manuscripts of the period. The curves are gracefully involved, the effect of the whole is harmonious, and the page is ornamented by it, and not, as was usually the case, disfigured. The quarto device is also surrounded by a border cut upon the same block with it, and similar in design to the preceding. It is somewhat more closely packed with details, but their character is the same. Two shields are involved amongst the leaves at the top; they bear the arms of the printer and those of the town of Utrecht. When this block was at a later time used by Veldener at

Kuilenburg, the shield of Utrecht was cut out and left blank. The interior of the cut is filled by two lions, who support a blank shield, intended to be painted with the arms of the owner, room being left above for the insertion of two lines of printing. Instances have been found in which advantage was taken of this space to add the name of the person to whom a dedication copy seems to have been given by the printer. A similar leafy ornament is again to be recognised in the large initials found in this book, as well as in the *Passionael*, printed in the same year.

Some of the new cuts in the *Fasciculus temporum* are of considerable interest. In one, Moses is seen over the two Tables of the Law, resting one hand on the top of each. The design of this is altogether similar to that of a large German woodcut, which I saw at Dresden, signed *Hans Weygel Formschneider.* The copy is however much reduced, and the work is far finer and more careful. It affords another link between Veldener and the German presses[1]. The cloak which Moses wears is doubled across his chest in simple folds. His face is really noble, the brow large, the mouth firm, the eye dark and keen. The thick hair is massed in careful locks. On the same page with this are printed two more cuts, representing the Ark of the Covenant, and the Golden Candlestick. These are copied from the corresponding prints in the *Speculum.* Bearing in mind that the new *Fasciculus* blocks were clearly made after Veldener's arrival at Utrecht, we have in this fact a further proof that the *Speculum* blocks did not come into his hands till after he had left Louvain. The Noah's Ark, which occurs amongst the Louvain *Fasciculus* cuts, presents no similarity to the design of the same object in the *Speculum.*

The little cut of the Building of Rome is not uninteresting. The mason kneeling at work on a stone with hammer and chisel, the pile of mortar by his side, his dinner basket and jug of ale, and the three stones put together in front to represent the new wall, are all incidents of a real character, letting us into the everyday life of the time. This can hardly

[1] It must be remembered that Veldener, in matriculating at Louvain, is described as a native of Würzburg.

be said of the workman in the distance within the town, himself taller than its church spires; but the poor woodcutter wants to tell you that the town was not finished yet, and is at his wits' end to attract your attention to the incomplete state of it, so he puts in a man at work, so big that you can't help seeing him, and expects you to draw your own conclusions from him, without being too critical.

Peter at the Gate of Heaven is the most ambitious of the series. He stands on a platform, reached from either side by a flight of five steps, with the keys in his hand. He is in the act of putting one of them into the lock to let in a little maid, on whose head he lays his left hand. Two other little people are coming up the steps. Above the gate is a sort of dome, into which you can see through three windows. In the centre is the Most High as King, with sceptre, orb, and imperial crown, surrounded by seraphim. In the left window an angel blows a trumpet, and another plays a stringed instrument on the opposite side. The whole is almost without shade hatchings, the outlines being left perfectly clear. A copy which I came across, lightly painted, produced a most pleasing effect, but, when left blank, the appearance is rather spectral. The little figures resemble those in the *Boeck des gulden throens;* St Peter is remarkable for his unstately figure, but beaming countenance.

In September 1480, an edition of the *Passionael* appeared, in which a large folio cut was introduced opposite to the title-page. We shall afterwards meet with a copy of it at Zwolle, but there the delicacy of the original is quite lost. It embraces a somewhat extensive landscape, in which the ground is undulating and almost barren, here and there a tiny plant holding its own; the spires of a city are in the distance. The various parts of the print are filled with incidents in the martyrdoms of different saints. Conspicuous in the foreground lies Pope Anastasius, naked but for his tiara, and dragged over stony ground by a rope tied round his feet, which a horse draws. Close by him is St Maurice, impaled on the branches of a tree; further back, an archer shoots at St Sebastian, and an executioner is ordered by the Emperor Nero to cut off the

head of St Paul. In addition to these, we have a woman scourged, a man thrown headlong from a cliff, St Andrew on his cross, St Stephen kneeling to be stoned while Saul stands by, holding the cloaks of the young men who stone him. St John is seen in his caldron, a woman is being strangled by two others, and in the distance St Catherine is beheaded. All these figures are rendered almost entirely in pure outline; only a very few shade hatchings are here and there to be found, and they are widely separated from each other. It is the outlines on which the stress is laid, and they are clearly cut and well chosen. No high order of success is aimed at, but the cut merits the approbation due to all careful, even if misdirected, work.

The long series of new octavo cuts, which are only found in the Epistles and Gospels of 1481, present the same general characteristics as the rest. The lines indeed are somewhat thicker, but they show the same firm, painstaking hand, and the bands of wide-severed shade hatchings are entirely like those we have already observed. The subjects are the usual set, but they are treated now and then in a manner differing from the ordinary Dutch types. We may notice a prominent difference, for example, in the "Expulsion from Eden," where the artist has introduced in the background the tree of life, and among the branches the Child Christ, in swaddling clothes, as the fruit of it. I do not know whether this was a typical treatment in any German district, or whether the innovation was made by the artist himself. If, as I believe, the latter was the case, we have evidence that he was not only a careful worker, but a thinking man—admirable alike for both qualities.

At what date Veldener moved his press to Kuilenburg is unknown, but we find him printing there on 6th March 1483. In September of that year he published the quarto edition of the *Speculum*, illustrated with the original blocks that had already appeared in the block-books, and with twelve new cuts made in imitation of them. For some time I did not know to what cutter these should be referred, but, after making a careful study of those above described, it became evident that they

also were the work of this Utrecht woodcutter. His leading characteristics, as has been said, are the clearness of his outlines and the fewness of his shade hatchings, which are always laid widely apart, the effect of his cuts, as a whole, being that of drawings with a fine, hard pen. But these also are conspicuous as the leading traits in the twelve new cuts. The figures are designed in the same style as before, the drapery hanging in simple folds, with its main outlines vertical; the faces have the same clear-cut features and the same naïve expression; the same gestures, even, as some of those in the cuts in "G l's" books can be observed. As a similarity easily verified, I may mention the lion that Bananias slays, compared with those in the quarto device. The new cuts, it must be observed, were intended to resemble the old blocks which form the bulk of the book, and they had to be modified accordingly. This gives rise to certain variations from the usual style of the artist; but, on closer examination, they are seen to be quite superficial. The most noticeable of the set is the Death of Absalom. A number of knights advance at full gallop, and two of them pierce the rebel's body with their lances as he hangs in a tree. The animation of this group, the naturalness of their gestures, and the excellent drawing of the horses, are worthy of all praise.

We have indeed in this work almost the last production of the old school of clear line work. Leeu's First Gouda cutter is also a follower of this style, though he never attains to the same purity of execution. He was a contemporary of the Utrecht cutter, and they may be bracketed together as the last workmen of the old school. The system of working in pure outline, which the fathers of woodcutting had adopted, was a false one, because it could only be brought to perfection by great labour and care entirely disproportionate to the result. Excellence could only be attained in it as a *tour de force;* and all *tours de force* in art are wrong, at any rate when they are made the aim of a school. The false principle, however, does not require combating, for it slays itself. The time comes when second-rate or careless workmen take the place of the real artists to whom the invention was due, and their carelessness proves the death of the false principle. Hereafter we shall

see the outlines ever less and less insisted upon, and the shade hatchings constantly multiplying, till the block is filled with black lines and spaces; and then, when the real artist comes, a new start can be made in the right direction. In bidding farewell to the old school, we leave behind also all that careful striving after truth and life, which shows itself here in the curving of the horse's neck, the rounding of his nostril to snuff the breeze, and the mouth impatiently champing the bit. Hereafter we have mostly to do with purely conventional treatment, though now and then a ray of light may cross our path, revealing some momentary struggle after truth of form or naturalness of movement.

In 1484 Veldener printed, apparently at Kuilenburg, the *Kruidboeck in dietsche*, a Dutch translation of the *Herbarius*. This was illustrated by no less than a hundred and fifty cuts of flowers. They stand on a different footing from other illustrations, and so I have separated them from the rest. Two Latin editions of the book were afterwards printed, either by Veldener or some other printer; one of them has Veldener's mark, the other is in the same type. Into the vexed question of the date and origin of these books it is not my intention to enter, the subject being a purely typographical one. The cuts were clearly enough made for Veldener in 1484, and, as seems probable, by the Utrecht cutter. They are, for the most part, fairly accurate copies in reverse of those found in the Latin edition published by Schoeffer at Mainz, in 1484[1]. The designs are therefore not due to our woodcutter, and the execution is all that we have to deal with. This does not call for much remark. The lines are somewhat thicker than those which the artist usually employed, but they are carefully cut nevertheless, and they succeed in producing quite recognisable pictures of the plants intended. As botanical illustrations, of course, they are of little value, the roots being often purely conventional, and the forms of the leaves only vaguely imitated from nature. Still, at the time they were made, they must have been a great advance upon anything which had appeared before them, and the undoubted popularity of the book can be well enough understood.

[1] Holtrop, *Monuments*, p. 111.

SECT. 7. *The Bruges Woodcutter* (1484).

BRUGES, as we know, was one of the most prosperous towns in Northern Europe during the period with which our investigations are concerned. It was the home of a strong and healthy school of art, both in printing and illuminating. We might therefore have been led to expect that here the new method of woodcutting would have flourished. But the fact that this was not the case affords a conspicuous confirmation of the statement that the woodcutters did not work for the wealthy, or in connexion with the artists employed by the upper classes, but formed a class by themselves, and worked for a humbler public. Two printers are known to have exercised their craft within the walls of the town. Colard Mansion printed there from 1476 to 1484; and John Briton published at any rate one book about the year 1479. Two other books are known to have come from his hands about the same date. Yet amongst all these publications only one was illustrated with woodcuts, and that was the last printed by Mansion just before his mysterious disappearance.

The engravings with which he embellished the Boccaccio of 1476 are now well known; but it does not fall within the compass of my present objects to enter into a detailed description of them. They seem to have been an afterthought, the earliest copies extant of the book having no places left for them. It appears that Mansion cancelled the first leaf containing the prologue, and reprinted it so as to leave room for an engraving at the head of the page, representing the author dedicating his book. At a later time he seems further to have cancelled the first leaves of all the books, except those of Books I. and VI., and to have re-issued them with spaces for engravings. The plates employed were by a different hand from the first, and that was re-touched by the second hand to match the rest. Lastly, we find an issue with engravings at the head of all the Books, except the first, as well as of the Prologue. The engravers

appear to have been local artists; we do not know of any other work by either of them[1].

In 1477, Mansion first made use of a device. It consists of a small shield, with the monogram C M, the C being represented by a crescent lying on its back under the M. So far as it is possible to judge from the impressions, the material of which the block was composed was metal. The lines are too fine, and preserve their freshness too long, to have been cut in wood. In the month of May 1484, a moralized translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was issued. Mr Bradshaw discovered a number of copies of this book differing in certain particulars[2] from the general run of the copies. These he considers may have been the work of Jean Gossin, a bookbinder, who took Mansion's rooms after his disappearance in 1484. We know that Gossin paid the rent which was overdue from the printer; and it has been supposed that in return for this he received his press and other materials, with a certain number of the printed sheets of this book. But, whoever he was, he issued a reprint of the missing sheets, and thus formed the edition which must be called the second, though it bears the same date as the original. It does not contain Mansion's device.

Both editions were illustrated by thirty-four cuts, of which seventeen are quartos, and the remainder occupy in each case about two-thirds of a large folio page. The whole form one series, made expressly for the book, and all by the same hand. Sixteen of the quarto cuts represent figures of the Roman Gods, and the remainder incidents in mythological story. It is obvious that the cuts were copied from designs which possibly were not made with that object in view. All the figures are the wrong way round, left-handed, their swords girt on the wrong side, and so forth. This marks the woodcutter as an unpractised hand. The designs are not remarkable for any great refinement or grace, the figures being somewhat stiff and misproportioned, and the perspective always wrong. The grouping is loose, the figures are all disconnected and wanting in balance, whilst,

[1] See two articles by Professor Sidney Colvin in *L'Art*, 2nd vol. for the year 1878, pp. 149, 180.

[2] Campbell, *Annales*, No. 1348, note.

at the same time, a great deal of space is wasted. There is an absence of refinement about the whole series, which is the more remarkable in the workshop of so educated a man as Colard Mansion. The draperies are not gracefully laid, their outlines being rude ; they are not, however, stiff. The faces are wanting in expression, but they are not ugly. The gestures are naturally stiff, the figures being hardened into wooden blocks, about which the clothes seem to wave in the wind. One instance of childish weakness in perspective may be noticed; it occurs in the picture of Arachne and Pallas. The interior of a room is depicted, in which women are doing needlework. The pavement is made of square tiles. These are rendered by lines at right angles to each other, dividing the lower portion of the cut into the likeness of a chess-board, and giving the floor the appearance of a vertical wall.

So far as the woodcutting is concerned, the lines, though rather stiff, are clearly and cleverly cut. They do not bulge or bend, but where the cutter intended them to lie there they are set. They are not hurried in the cutting; at the same time, they do not present any indications of a carefully-studied working out of line, like the blocks of the *Canticum.* The outlines are generally supported by fringes or bands of hatchings. The spaces between these hatchings are not very narrow, so that the general effect of the cut is light. It is not streaked with bands of black, ruled with fine light lines, but with bands of black lines, each well separated from its neighbour. The short hatchings are not pointed, but uniformly thick in their whole length. The execution is marked by openness and simplicity. There is no aim at any success of a high order,—all that was desired was a set of outline prints, lightly shaded, and capable of after illumination. In looking at this series one is reminded of the style of the Second Utrecht cutter, for the way in which the open shade hatchings are combined with clear-cut outlines is common to both.

Did Colard Mansion make the woodcuts himself ? We know that he had relations with Gerard Leeu, and so would very likely have chosen his cuts for imitation ; moreover, we find no more cuts by this hand. Combining this with the evidence in

the cuts themselves of their having been made by an inexperienced workman, it does not seem impossible to imagine that he was none other than Mansion himself. That he had some skill of hand we know from the fact that he was a calligrapher[1] before the time when he took to printing.

[1] Holtrop, *Monuments*, p. 58.

CHAPTER III.

LEEU'S EARLY WORKMEN AT GOUDA AND ANTWERP.

(1480—1491.)

8. The First Gouda Woodcutter (1480—1484). 9. The Second Gouda Woodcutter (1482—1484). 10. The First Antwerp Woodcutter (1485—1491).

SECT. 8. *The First Gouda Woodcutter* (1480—1484).

THE style of woodcutting which characterises the workmen of our first group was likewise employed by the first of the men in the group now to be considered. It might, in some respects, be more scientific to include the First Gouda woodcutter in the first group; but it is certainly more convenient to connect him with the other woodcutters employed by Gerard Leeu.

Amongst Dutch printers Leeu was in many respects the most important. Not only does he use more woodcuts and employ more woodcutters than any other; but he himself is the most typical printer of all his contemporaries, presenting visibly, in the productions of his press, the various signs of progress or decay, which marked the arts of the printer or woodcutter. He seems to stand out as a real man from among the somewhat ghostly assemblage of his contemporaries, who are to us names and little more. But Leeu is a reality. He is a man with whom we can to some extent sympathise, because he makes himself visible to us as a human being, working in a quite understandable fashion, learning first from one brother

printer and then from another, borrowing cuts from one man, lending them to another, selling off his old types to a less successful office, moving about, like many of his contemporaries, to find the best scene of operations, evidently preserving relations with more than one foreign printer—visibly an energetic, hard-working man, above most—a passionate man, withal, as we may chance to find out—a man at any rate worth turning our glass on in this distant assembly. Indeed, as I have said, Gerard Leeu was the central figure among the printers of his day, and none of them all deserves a statue so well as he. Several noticeable woodcutters worked almost exclusively for him; but, before noticing them, it may be well to trace out what we know of the master printer's career.

Nothing is heard of him before the year 1477, when he published at Gouda an *Epistles and Gospels* and five other books. He appears to have belonged to a family well known in his town, members of which had occupied various municipal posts of honour. On the 3rd June 1480, he published his first edition of the *Dialogus creaturarum moralisatus,* illustrated by numerous woodcuts. The book was so popular that no less than six editions of it were called for between the years 1480 and 1482. During this period he used two sorts of type: the first was very soon abandoned; the second never appears at Gouda after 1482, but, at a later date, it is found at Zwolle, in the possession of Peter van Os. For some months we do not meet with any book from Leeu's hand. Other printers were at work in the same town—notably Gotfridus van Os or Govaert van Ghemen, and possibly more besides. Still, with Gotfridus he was on terms friendly enough, lending him his cuts and borrowing from him in return. About the end of the year 1482 he began to think of moving to some wider scene of operations, and, with a view to this, he appears to have got rid of all his old materials, and to have made, or had made, for himself three entirely new sets of types. With these he began to print on the 1st Dec. 1483.

On the 10th day of the same month Jacob Bellaert began to print at Haarlem. His materials comprised a set of one of these same new types of Leeu's, and a portion of his series of

quarto cuts. The connexion between the two presses was thus very close, and it is best to regard the Haarlem press as a branch of Leeu's. The last of Bellaert's books bears date 20th Aug. 1486. After its publication he seems to have closed his establishment and sent all his materials, except a few that went to Leyden, to Gerard Leeu.

On 19th June 1484, Leeu printed his last book at Gouda, and then set out to find a place better suited for his work. He appears to have gone first to Bruges[1], having probably heard of Colard Mansion's failure, and taken some steps towards setting up there himself. This came to nothing, and he went on to Antwerp, where he was destined to spend the remainder of his days. On 18th Sept. 1484, he prints his first book—a *Gemmula vocabulorum*—in that town, and, from this time forward, his work proceeds regularly to the day of his death. His name occurs on the books of the guild of St Luke, in the year 1485. The documents of this guild exist as far back as 1442. The names include those of painters, sculptors, glass founders, illuminators, printers, "heilige-printers, figur-printers, beeldeken-printers," and others[2].

Leeu seems to have had a brother, named Nicolas, working with him, for, in the year 1487-88, we find four books, the imprints of which bear that name, though the type and cuts, and even the device, as well as the style of printing, are identical with those of Gerard. It may be considered certain that they worked together in the same shop, but that, in the case of these four books, the whole of the work was done by Nicolas, who therefore appended his own name to them.

In the *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge* I find an entry, quoted from an "Acte de reconnaissance d'un cens reçu par les échevins de Louvain." It says[3]: "*Item Johannes de Aken commorans Lovanii et magister Gerardus de Leeu impressor librorum commorans Antwerpie.*" Without further information it is impossible to say to what this refers. Was Leeu thinking of moving again? or does this merely record some

[1] Campbell, *Annales*, No. 1492, note.

[2] *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*, i., p. 75.

[3] "Acte du 23 fev. 1487, 1re chambre échevinale."

transaction between him and the Louvain printer? At all events, if he had formed the intention of moving again, he never carried it out. He was in the right place at Antwerp, with every advantage that frequency of communication with foreign parts could give him. He published books both in French and English—the latter, reprints from those of William Caxton, with whom he appears to have maintained close relations—and, in fine, he occupied a position of the highest respectability[1]. In the year 1493, he undertook the publication of a reprint of the *Cronycles of the Londe of Englond.* While this was in progress a workman of his, one Henric van Symmen, a graver of letters (*letterstekere, dair men boecken mede print*), in a quite nineteenth-century fashion, struck work and determined to set up on his own account "*om meerder winningen te doene.*" Upon which, the story goes, Master Gerard became very angry, as well he might, and from high words passed to blows, striking at the unlucky type founder, who, however, in turn, accidentally, as it were, "*denselven meesteren Geerde een cleyn steecxken gaf in syn hooft,*"—gave him a very slight poke in the head. The result of which "*cleyn steecxken*" was that Master Gerard lay for three days at the point of death, and then died. The workman was brought before the judge on the charge of killing his master; but was allowed to make composition for his offence in the amount of forty gulden, to be paid into the Duke of Burgundy's exchequer[2]. The *Cronycles of the Londe of Englond* were finished by the workmen in Leeu's office. They added at the end of the book, "*Here ben endyd the Cronycles of the Reame of Englond, with their apperteignaunces. Emprentyd in the Duchye of Braband, in the towne of Andewarpe. In the yere of our Lord, M.cccc.xciii. By maister Gerard de Leew, a man of grete wysedom in all maner of kunnying: which nowe is come from lyfe unto the deth, which is*

[1] For further information see three articles by Messrs. Van der Meersch and Campbell, *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*, iii. 7; iv. 4; vi. 1.

[2] The story is told in the registers of the court—Register No. 12904, Compte de l'écoutète d'Anvers de la St Jean à la Noel 1493—quoted at length by M. Ruelens, *Annales du Bibliophile Belge et Hollandais*, Brussels, 1864, 8vo. page 7.

grete harme for many a poure man. On whos sowle god almighty for hys hygh grace haue mercy. AMEN."

All Leeu's plant was scattered after his death: some of it went to Liesveldt, who may practically be considered to have succeeded him at Antwerp; some reappears, at a later time, with the Collacie Broeders at Gouda; a large number of cuts went to Peter van Os at Zwolle; the woodcut device of the castle of Antwerp was afterwards employed by Thierry Martens. Nothing more is heard of Nicolas Leeu; the name henceforward disappears from the community of printers.

We have seen that Leeu began to print at Gouda in 1477. With the exception of a small device which may practically be disregarded, he uses no woodcuts before 1480. In that year he prints his first edition of the *Dialogus creaturarum moralisatus*, illustrated by no less than 121 cuts. All these were by the hand of the woodcutter with whom we must now deal. They represent the various natural objects, plants, birds, beasts, and fishes, with which the dialogues of the book are concerned. Each cut is broad and short, measuring, on an average, about 4 inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$. A few larger ones are found here and there, but they are the exception. One of these is on the first page, which, in addition, contains a big initial letter, and is surrounded by a folio-border in four pieces. The idea of the whole is clearly taken from the beginning of Veldener's *Fasciculus* of 1480, which is also surrounded by a border, and ornamented by a woodcut capital letter. Nor is this the only instance of imitation; for both Leeu's Gouda devices were clearly suggested by those of the same printer. The style of execution of both was also very similar, and I incline to the opinion that Leeu's was a pupil of Veldener's workman. Both are purely line engravers, working in wood. We are happily enabled, in the case of this series of cuts, to find out something of the woodcutter's method of working. By a careful series of measurements, it may be shown that every two or three consecutive cuts were originally carved on a long narrow block, which was afterwards divided. Thus each of the groups formed of the cuts numbered in my catalogue 4, 3, & 2: 5, 7, & 8: 12, 14, & 15: 18, 20, & 23, were carved

on a block together. Such, too, was the case with many pairs—as, for example, Nos. 27 & 28, 30 & 31, 35 & 36, 53 & 52, 54 & 55, and so forth. It is quite possible that a more patient observer would prove the blocks to have been originally joined above and below, as well as end to end; but this I was not able to effect.

The whole series is quite clearly by the same hand. Here and there slight changes of style may be observed, but they mark the action of a hand which is essentially tentative, striving to find its way, careful but uneducated, willing to learn, ready to imitate any good work; but never hurried, never attempting to supply its deficiencies by any tricks or pretences—a straightforward, plain-speaking, hard-working artist, painstaking, but of no great talent, and possessed of no deep fund of original resources. He borrows, as we have seen, from Veldener's Utrecht cutter, not only hints about design, but a style of woodcutting, to which he closely adheres. It is a style of the purest outline, almost entirely without shade hatchings. These are only here and there introduced, and then they are kept wide apart from each other. The last cut but one, representing Man and Woman, recalls very strongly, in style of execution, the pretty little series of cuts in the *Book of the Golden Throne*, by the unknown printer "G l" of Utrecht—cuts which, it will be remembered, were by the Utrecht woodcutter. This Gouda workman is by no means without power. If the designs also were his, he must have been a man of real originality. He is, however, held in by the materials with which he has to deal, and which he cannot reduce to subjection to his will. He is like a stammerer carried away by enthusiasm, whose words find their way out anyhow, but are often all the more impressive for their evident earnestness. So now and then he bursts through his bonds, and attains a real success. He has, for example, a picture of the Wind (No. 7), represented by the face of a man blowing vigorously with distended cheeks. So far as the face itself goes, there is no lack of expression. Nothing could render with more simple success the intended idea. And the beauty of it is, that the whole thing is finished with two or three lines. But the artist wants to shew the effect of the wind, and, for this purpose, he is

obliged to introduce clouds: a wind must blow something. But here comes the difficulty. Men had, for centuries before his day, been learning to draw faces, and he received the heritage of all the labour of his forerunners, enabling him with ease to represent a face by an abstraction of a few lines. But clouds are quite a different thing. You cannot get a wind-rent cloud to stand still, you cannot represent its furred outline melting away against the blue sky, or riven into wreathed scrolls by the gale, as a thick black curve. In fact, it has taken generations of hard-working men to learn how to draw clouds at all. So that our poor woodcutter was here fairly at his wits' end, and had to confess it, and quietly to take a symbol of zigzag lines which others had used before him, and, casting them a little more free than usual, say thereby, 'You know what a cloud is like, as it races before the wind; fill all this up for yourself.' Speaking generally, he succeeds better in dealing with figures at rest than with those in motion. He has not the ready eye, which observes and fixes the bending folds of a robe or the changing gestures of the body.

We may observe several instances of his making trial of some new treatment for grass or ground, and adopting it in a modified form. It is this which marks him as a progressive artist. In one instance—the inside of a bucket—he introduces some shade, and renders it with cross-hatchings. But he never tries them again: shade is beyond the range of his powers. His knowledge of perspective is never very great. His houses do not stand firmly—though, happily for him, he more often has to draw them tumbling down. Where he shews his power is in finding out the critical lines in any object. He distinguishes with great success between one bird and another, drawing both only in outline. You can generally tell exactly what animal he means. With three lines he produces an owl, which you cannot possibly mistake for any other bird. He thinks he has done almost enough with his crow when he has made him black, but, in order to be quite sure, he outlines his wing correctly with a white line. As a rule, what he does is to seize on one characteristic feature and render that, leaving the rest for the spectator to supply for himself.

He made also a set of square cuts, rather too broad for the ordinary quarto page, representing the Last Four Things —Death, Judgment, Hell, and Heaven. The style of these is, in all respects, similar to that of the *Dialogus* series, but on a larger scale. The figures introduced are much taller, and show a more ambitious attempt at grouping, and slightly more animation in the figures themselves. The designs are quite simple, there being a great deal of space left unoccupied. The method of working is again in pure line, only a few very widely separated shade-hatchings being added down the legs, and here and there on the draperies. It is a remarkable thing that the book, in which, so far as we at present know, these cuts first appeared, was the *Quatuor novissima*, printed by Arend de Keysere at Audenarde, about 1482. This is the more strange as it is the only known case of a connexion between the printers of Audenarde and Gouda. The same set of cuts was copied for Peter Van Os by the Second Zwolle cutter.

Another similar set of four square quarto cuts was made, to illustrate a *History of the Seven Wise Men of Rome.* They are entirely in the style of the preceding four, and belong quite clearly to the same hand and date. They occur for the first time in an edition printed at Gouda, at the anonymous press from which, in 1484, came the *Epistelen ende evangelien*, and, at some unknown date, the *Teghen die strael der minnen.* The printer of all three was probably, as we shall see, Gotfridus de Os. No complete copy of the first edition exists. The one at Haarlem wants a few pages, and, amongst them, one which must contain the first cut. The others occur, in a later state, in the edition of the book printed by Leeu, some time before 1483. The background of the second cut, which contained a shaded wall and a tesselated floor, has been cut away, and the other two blocks show signs of considerable wear and tear.

We are able further to separate ten folio cuts as the work of this hand. Unfortunately we never find them all together, and some of them appear for the first time at Zwolle. We know that when Leeu gave up the materials of his first press, he sold a portion of them to Peter Van Os. The *Dialogus* series he retained for himself, the two sets of quartos were laid aside

as no longer serviceable, whilst the folios went, along with the founts of type, to Van Os. They were made to illustrate the *Gesta Romanorum*, with the exception of the last, which is only found in a *Sielentroest:* it is, however, I believe, a *Gesta Romanorum* cut. The only way to account for the fact that Leeu uses but six of them, in his edition of the book, is by assuming that the remainder were not finished in time. He may quite possibly have published a second edition, of which we have no record, but where the whole set would be found complete in its right order.

The subject of each is the whole story contained in a chapter of the book. All the principal incidents in it are represented by different groups. Usually no attempt is made, by separating them in compartments, to shew that the same people occur over and over, but all the incidents are grouped together and represented as one large gathering of people. Now and then one event is divided from the others, being seen through an archway, or in the interior of a house. Twice the block is divided into compartments, each of which is treated as a separate picture from the rest. The point of sight is placed very high, the views being arranged somewhat as though seen out of a balloon. The figures in the background are raised over the heads of those in front, in a manner which usually characterises the work of very untaught schools. It is rather surprising to find this method in use at a time when Memling was living, and when a school of painters, strong at all events in technical power, was spread through the country.

The woodcutting is as careful here as in the *Dialogus,* the lines being as clear-cut and as thoughtfully laid. In this case, however, the difficulties encountered were much greater, because of the large number of figures to be represented, and the necessity of grouping and balance. The faces, especially those of the women, are charming in their simplicity. The gestures are natural, as far as they go, the drapery is very well arranged, without any complexity in the folds. The general effect is decidedly pleasing. There is no elaboration of detail; nothing is attempted that cannot be attained. It is like the work of a very careful and painstaking child, with all its sim-

plicity. There is hardly any shade added; the outlines, as a rule, are left quite plain, and intended only as a guide for the painter. Nothing more is known of this woodcutter after 1482, when Leeu's first press comes to an end. In that year we meet with a new set of cuts, marked by certain fresh characteristics, and which must, for the present, be referred to a fresh hand. It is not impossible that they may merely represent a stage in the transformation of this woodcutter's style; but such an assumption we may not make. For us, a new style must be also a new hand. It is easier afterwards to combine than to divide.

Sect. 9. *The Second Gouda Woodcutter.*

(1482—1484.)

On the eve of St John the Baptist in June 1482, Leeu printed his fifth edition of the *Dialogus*. In the previous editions, the three consecutive dialogues relating to Two Metals were illustrated by the same woodcut, printed three times over. It was a particularly simple one, and represented merely two bars of metal lying side by side, enclosed within a double border line. The bars were drawn in perfectly plain outline, without any addition whatsoever. This time, however, an impression from a new block takes the place of one of the three, and contrasts strongly with the others. For the outlines are no longer so even; the edges are rather furry; they are not so carefully cut as before; and, in addition, the lines are supported by a long row of short *pointed* hatchings, meant to throw the bar into relief. But the real cause of them lay much deeper than this. All the woodcuts we have so far investigated have been essentially work in line. The figures, buildings, trees, grass, and so forth, have all been carefully represented by pure outlines. There has very seldom been any attempt to produce effects of light and shade. The artists were content to render simple flat form, and found even that more than they could

attain. All their care was required to carve away the wood cleanly, and to leave the line they intended standing with clear, well-finished edges. Their ideas of woodcuts were founded on line engravings. The complexity of the latter was more than they could attempt to render in a less tractable material, and by an inverse process. But still, while omitting all the details they could, they adhered to the general principle and worked in lines, never observing that to produce them they had to dig out spaces, and that in spaces therefore their work should have been,—that their aim should have been to produce a combination of flecks of white, pleasing to the eye, and, at the same time, representing the forms and figures which they desired.

But any false system carries in itself the seeds of its own decay; and this is no less true in art than in other matters. The system of digging out large masses of wood, to produce a few graceful curves, was one which involved the maximum of care and attention and produced the minimum of effect. It was therefore one which no great man would waste his energies in following, and no mean one would restrain his wandering attention long enough to perfect. Thus the great men abandoned woodcutting, and devoted themselves to engraving on metal, and the little men abandoned the system of woodcutting in its simplicity, and produced more and more frightful things; but this tended more and more to the discovery of the right method. The trouble of cutting away so much wood, no less than the fragile nature of the ridges formed in such slender relief, led woodcutters gradually to leave more and more of the original surface intact, but their false notions induced them to arrange it in lines.

From this cause arose the fringe-lines, comb-lines, and the like, already more than once referred to, in which a long outline is flanked by a row of mechanically formed hatchings, generally pointed, always meaningless. The idea of them is that they represent solid form. But they do not, and cannot; and, from the moment of their introduction, they are the seeds of decay, gradually destroying all that had been noble, if childishly so, in the early art, and producing, at best, merely a ground pre-

pared, as it were by manure, for the growth of a strong and healthy crop. This, however, did not show itself in the Netherlands, but in South Germany, in the first half of the following century[1].

Now, the woodcut of the Two Metals marks for us the change, and the date of it. The workman who made it was not a careless man—not by any means careless; so he shows us all the more visibly the inevitable tendency. He seems, as we shall see, to have taken his inspiration from engravings. All his cuts would be right enough if they were worked in furrow instead of in relief. But they are not in furrow, and therefore they are false in principle.

We find the man engaged with a more extensive undertaking on July 29th of the same year, 1482, when Leeu prints a *Liden ende passie ons Heeren,* illustrated by thirty-two quarto cuts. We have good reason to believe that these cuts had already appeared once before. The questions raised by them are so numerous and interesting that it will perhaps be better to approach them from a different direction.

There are in the Print Room of the British Museum three small engravings, preserved amongst the anonymous prints of the fifteenth century. They represent the Baptism of our Lord, Christ washing the Disciples' feet, and Pentecost. All of them are by the hand of a master of the school of E. S. of 1466. A somewhat larger print of the Mass of St Gregory, kept in the same case with the others, is by the same hand. The engravings are marked by a very noticeable softness of tone, due, not only to the fineness of the lines, but to the light grey ink employed in the printing. The outlines are usually firm, and the shading presents all varieties of tone, from the lightest covering of finest lines to perfectly black spaces. The faces are generally expressive, the features being, however, somewhat coarse, the noses large, and the lips thick. The hair is usually excellent, especially when it is worked out in a profusion of curls. The extremities are badly drawn,

[1] For an excellent general criticism of the style of design of the central artist of this school—Hans Holbein—see Ruskin, *Ariadne Florentina*, Orpington, 1876, 8vo. Chaps. III. and V.

though quite in the manner of the school; the wrists, for instance, are far too thin for the breadth of the knuckles. The limbs, on the other hand, are unusually well drawn, with clear and natural outlines. The drapery presents a certain character of flow, the finely-gradated shade giving depth, as well as form, to the folds. It is unfortunate that only three of this set remain. To judge from the excellence of the work, they seem to have been the originals wherefrom was copied the set of plates to which we have next to refer.

These are ascribed by Passavant to the master from the town of Zwolle who signed his plates with the word *Zwoll'*, a contraction for *Zwollensis*. Fifty-two of them are catalogued, and specimens of forty-nine of that number are preserved in the British Museum. They were attributed to this master on account of a doubtful mark within the door of a tomb in the Raising of Lazarus. It is more likely that the mark in question is merely a detail of the stonework, and the series is really unsigned. The style of the work is not altogether like that which we associate with the Zwolle artist, and it is safer to refer it to the hand of an anonymous engraver. Comparing the three corresponding prints in this set with those above described, we see at once that the former are copied from the latter. The similarities of detail are too close to be due merely to a common type. The execution of the copies is very much harder than that of the originals. The lines are much blacker, and the very fine shade is altogether wanting. The spaces of dark shade are hard and even; they want variety of tone. Again, the faces are rather devoid of expression, the noses being particularly broad and flat, and the eyelids large and conspicuous. The attitudes of the figures are usually stiff, and the gestures exaggerated and unnatural; the perspective is generally false.

These two sets, as I have said, are, clearly, very closely connected together. Not only are the subjects the same and the figures grouped in the same manner, but the figures themselves may be said to be the same. A third, and somewhat larger, set of engravings is preserved with them in the British Museum. Each print is mounted on a leaf of an octavo MS.

and surrounded by a rough coloured border. The bottom of the page and the verso of the leaf are usually occupied by a written description of the engravings in Dutch. Thirty-eight prints belong to the series; the remaining seven are of a larger size, and do not now concern us. The execution is rude, and does not call for further remark. In these, while the subjects are the same as in the others and treated in the same manner, yet variations are introduced in particular figures. The scale of the figures themselves is smaller, and they are more loosely grouped together; at the same time, if the corresponding prints from each series are placed side by side, it will be found that substantially the same figures appear in each, acting in the same manner. This set, therefore, must be considered as belonging to the same type as the others, though not necessarily as copied from them.

The type is that peculiar to Holland in the last half of the fifteenth century, and it is followed alike in a wall painting in the north, or an engraving made in Flanders, or a woodcut from Gouda, when the same subject is treated. Thus, in the vault of the wooden roof over the east end of the church at Alkmaar is a picture of the Last Judgment, rudely painted in black lines on a greenish-blue ground, a few patches of colour being here and there introduced. Christ is represented in the centre, seated as usual upon the rainbow, with his feet resting on an orb. Angels fly around him, and two are blowing trumpets above. The Saviour's head seems to be between a two-edged sword and a lily, or between two lilies. Below, the dead are rising from their graves; away round on the right, is the gaping mouth of Hell vomiting forth flames, and into it the devils are casting the condemned. Behind it is a building, and through the windows souls may be seen in torment. On the other side, and opposite to this, is the Lord seated on his throne, receiving the Blessed into Heaven. Now, the Last Judgment, Hell, and Heaven, though here united into one picture, are treated substantially in the same manner as in all the numerous woodcuts and engravings which we meet with representing the same subjects. The variations, which the taste, even of so late a day, permitted an artist to make

in a received type, were very slight. They were restricted to the gestures of the figures, and to their relative scale as compared with that of the picture.

There are many other sets of engravings of which it is hard to say whether they are copied from the set first referred to or from copies of it, or whether they are merely of the same type. Amongst these may be mentioned a series of eighteen small prints, bearing the date 1490, preserved among anonymous productions in the Print Room at Munich. Again, amongst the known works of the engraver who signs himself L. Cz., are three large prints representing the Temptation (B. 1), the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem (B. 2), and the Flight into Egypt (P. 3), which resemble very closely the designs of the smaller series. Many others might be mentioned. Amongst paintings of the same type are three of the seven medallions arranged about an *Ecce Homo* in the Museum at Antwerp (No. 528 in 1874 Catalogue), and a small and very rude picture of the Nailing of Christ to the Cross in the Archiepiscopal Museum at Utrecht.

For our present purposes, however, the interest attaching to this group of productions centres about the woodcut series copied from one set of them. The first and most important of these sets of blocks is the series of sixty-eight[1] quartos, which Gerard Leeu had made for him at Gouda. This set is complete, and may give us a hint what the full number of the small engravings—evidently imperfect now—may have been. Placed side by side with the engravings attributed to the master from Zwolle, it is clear they may be copied from them, or that both may come from some original set. At all events, the relation between them is more than that of a common type.

The first occasion of their use we can point to is, as already said, the *Liden ons Heeren* of 1482. It is probable that all sixty-eight were already in existence when this book was printed, though only thirty-two of them were used. The set, as a whole, was clearly made for an edition of the *Devote ghetiden van den leven Jesu Christi*, the only book into which

[1] Not 66, as Holtrop, following Enschedé, has called them.

they exactly fit. Nor will it seem impossible that the first edition containing them should have been lost, when we remember that of the second only a single copy has survived.

The next occasion on which they were employed was in the printing of a set of sheets of woodcuts, with lines of poetry under them, apparently intended to be cut up into separate leaves. M. Campbell, taking his description from the notes of Murr and Heineken, had referred to these sheets as probably composing an octavo volume (C.A. 746). They were known to have formed part of the library of the suppressed University of Altdorf. From Heineken's description it had naturally been assumed that the cuts and text were alike engraved upon wooden blocks; the sheets were known to be printed only on one side, and the colour of the ink was described as brown. It was therefore concluded that here was another block book; and I was all eagerness to examine the only known impression of it, in order to satisfy myself that work, of apparently so late a date, had been in existence before the invention of printing ink. For some time I could find no traces of the Altdorf Library; at last it was suggested to me that I should make inquiries at Erlangen. I did so; and the able Librarian of the University, Dr M. Zucker, immediately recognised what I was looking for, and produced the sheets of the so-called book.

Each leaf is now mounted on a large sheet of cardboard. The leaves measure, from the top of the cut to the bottom of the last line of the fifteen verses beneath it, 7·3 inches. Their breadth is about 3·2 inches. A careful examination soon showed that they had never formed part of a book, but had been printed six together on a sheet, so that the thirty-six leaves are the cut-up portions of six sheets of the ordinary folio paper of the fifteenth century. The cuts were the Leeu quartos, already well known to me. The type was that used by Leeu at Gouda before the year 1483. The ink was black. The sheets had indeed only been printed on one side, but that was because they were meant for pasting against the wall or into a book. They were printed in the usual manner in a press. A close examination of the breakages proved that these impressions were taken from the blocks at a later time

than those of the *Liden* above referred to. The type being that of Leeu's first press, they cannot be later than the year 1482; from the breakages, they must be after the 29th of June in that year. This determines the date with sufficient accuracy. I append a list of the subjects, arranged in groups of three, according to the half-sheets on which they fall together:—

1. The Fall.
   The Expulsion from Eden.
   [1]The Annunciation.
2. The Visitation.
   The Nativity.
   The Circumcision.
3. The Adoration of the Magi.
   The Presentation.
   The Flight into Egypt.
4. Christ's Entry into Jerusalem.
   The Last Supper.
   Christ washing the Disciples' Feet.
5. The Agony in the Garden.
   The Betrayal.
   Christ before Caiaphas.
6. Christ buffeted.
   Christ scourged.
   Christ crowned with thorns.
7. *Ecce Homo!*
   Pilate washing his hands.
   Christ bearing His cross.
8. The Virgin and St John at the foot of the Cross.
   The Descent from the Cross.
   The Entombment.
9. Christ at the Gate of Hades.
   The Resurrection.
   The Three Maries at the Tomb.

[1] *Ave gratia plena*, not *Ave Maria* as Heinecken says.

10. Christ as the Gardener.
    Thomas convinced.
    The Supper at Emmaus.

11. The Ascension.
    Pentecost.
    Death.

12. Judgment.
    Hell.
    Heaven.

It has been generally assumed that the set is incomplete. If so, the only places, where three additional cuts from the full set could conveniently be added, would be after the third and seventh half-sheets; but the set is probably complete as it stands. Owing to the sheets being mounted on cards, it was difficult to fit the top and bottom edges together, though the sides went easily enough. Hence I could only with certainty settle the arrangement as far as the half-sheets. How the half-sheets should be joined I could not determine[1]. The object of the sheets must for the present remain a mystery. They were not for binding; that was proved by the fact that the top of one cut must almost have touched the lowest line of the stanza under the cut above. The papers having been divided crookedly, the top of a cut often appears just at the bottom of one of the small sheets. Were they for pasting on the walls of a room? The question must, for the present, remain unanswered.

In Dec. 1483, at least thirty-two of the series were at Haarlem, for Bellaert uses them in the first book printed by him there—*Dat Liden ons Heeren.* They soon returned to Leeu, and we find him printing from the whole sixty-eight blocks in a *Devote Ghetiden*, probably published just after his arrival at Antwerp. Leaving out of the question the employment of single cuts on the title-pages of various books, thirty-four of the series are used in Leeu's *Liden ons Heeren* of 1485,

[1] It is to be hoped that the authorities at Erlangen will take the sheets off their cards and mount them afresh. It will be very easy then to discover the correct arrangement. I believe Nos. 7 and 10 are halves of one sheet.

fifty-two in his *Ludolphus* of 1487, and the same number in the edition of the same book which appeared in the following year with the name of Claes Leeu. Four are used in the *Vier uterste* of 1488, and twenty-one in the *Liden ons Heeren* of Sept. 1, 1490. In the month of November of the same year we find five of the blocks in the printing office of Peter van Os at Zwolle, along with some others by a different woodcutter, to which we shall hereafter take occasion to refer. It is probable that the whole series went with them, except two, which parted company from the rest, and came into the hands of Jacobus de Breda at Deventer. One of these—that representing the Entry into Jerusalem—occurs on the title-page of the *Epistles and Gospels* printed by him in the year 1493. Peter van Os published an edition of *Ludolphus* in 1495, in which only fifty of the series make their appearance. The Entry into Jerusalem was again used by J. de Breda in the following year. With the exception of this cut, and the Man of Sorrows, the whole set returned once more to Gouda in 1496, where they came into the possession of the Collacie Broeders. After this it becomes somewhat hard to trace them. About 1499, two—the Longinus, and the Descent to Hades—were included by Jacobus de Breda in a *Quattuor Novissima.* And finally, in 1510, twenty-six are again found together in a *Ludolphus* printed at Antwerp by Adriaen van Berghen. It is worthy of note that amongst these was the Entry into Jerusalem, which was thus once more in the company of its fellows after so long a period of separation.

Concerning the style of the woodcutting it is not necessary to add much to what has already been said. Attention has been directed to the fringes of pointed hatchings, which flank the outlines in these cuts and destroy the good effect of their line work. Whenever the outlines are left clean, as sometimes about the heads and arms, they show great care in the execution. The features are usually well finished; the expressions rendered by them are simple and generally natural, though occasionally exaggerated into grimace. The outlines of drapery are confused, and, when the cuts are not coloured, it is often difficult to distinguish the cloak from the robe beneath it. The hair is

stiff and heavy, and the locks are, in general, carelessly arranged. The foreground is sometimes left black, and the details of grass and flower are cut out of it in white. In the background, on the other hand, the contrary is the case, and black plants are projected against a white surface. The outlines of the hills, or undulations of the ground, are thick, and often fringed with long pointed hatchings. The walls of buildings are covered with a rude shading, formed of rows of short lines placed end to end with blank spaces between, the breaks in one row lying opposite the lines in the next. Architectural ornaments are always of the rudest; trees and plants are treated in an entirely conventional manner.

Though the designs of the engravings are usually closely followed, they are, from time to time, modified to suit the different material employed. The attempt has sometimes been made to produce a direct, instead of a reverse, copy; this invariably throws the perspective even more in fault than it is in the originals. The figures are short, but they have a decided charm of their own, such as belongs to the naïve work of children. The gestures are quiet and natural, so long as violent action is not intended; if it is, they become exaggerated and absurd. The draperies are usually well arranged, but the fringe lines spoil them. The grouping is good when the number of figures is small; if, however, very many are introduced, their presence is indicated by vistas of head-crowns or halos. The range of the workman's power is limited; a very small difficulty is too much for him, and he has to supplement the objects which he tries to represent by all sorts of symbols.

The *Seven Sacraments* of 19th July 1484, the last book known to have been printed by Leeu at Gouda, was illustrated by a new set of cuts made expressly for it. They offer a certain peculiarity of frequent later occurrence. The book is a folio, but the largest of the cuts are quartos. In order to adapt these to the width of the folio page, a narrow cut was made of the same height as the quartos, and this, when placed by the side of each quarto in turn, produced the appearance of a half-folio cut. Each cut represents one of the Seven Sacraments, the sidepiece a teacher, who explains to his pupil the

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meaning of the rite. At the end of the book are two folio diagrams of the trees of Kindred and Affinity, copied from those which appeared in Veldener's books at a slightly earlier date. The style of the woodcutting is in all respects similar to that of the series of sixty-eight. The narrow cut presents indications of a tendency towards greater freedom and less careful treatment of details. Leeu uses it alone, in 1485, as an ornament for the title-page of *Cato moralissimus.*

The same woodcutter seems to have made a complete set of 16mo cuts for the illustration of some book of which we have no record. The first indication that we have of their existence is from the *Rosencransken,* printed at Gouda on 9th March 1484. On the title-page of this is a cut representing the Sacred Heart of Christ wounded by the spear. It is surrounded by the Crown of thorns. The thirty pieces of silver are arranged as a chain about this, and four of its links are the pierced hands and feet of our Lord. This type of cut is exceedingly common; it appears in most of the printing offices of the day. It is quite possible that the block was made for the book in which it is first printed. Shortly afterwards, however—probably a few weeks after Leeu's arrival at Antwerp—he published a more elaborate little book with fifty-seven prints, entitled *Rosarium Beatæ Mariæ Virginis.* Of these, six are rosaries, printed from three different, but similar, blocks. A few others are repetitions, but the majority form a series evidently adapted to the book. This series is not, however, uniform in workmanship, but shows distinct evidence of the co-operation of two workmen in its production. The same is the case with a *Jordani Meditationes* of 10th February 1485, where many of these cuts reappear, accompanied by a considerable number of others, some by this cutter, some by a new hand.

Separating from the mass all those blocks which seem to be the work of the artist at present under consideration, the series so formed is at once seen to bear a strong resemblance to that of the sixty-eight quartos. The resemblance is all the more striking when the treatment of the subjects is examined. It is possible to imagine that we have here the traces of a

corresponding set of sixty-eight 16mos. Or we may suppose that the workman, resident at Gouda, was engaged upon sets of cuts for these two books at the time when Leeu moved to Antwerp, but had not completed either; Leeu would thus be obliged to employ a new workman to make the blocks which were still wanted. Or, again, it might be suggested that the sets were wanted in a hurry, and therefore two men had to be employed simultaneously upon them—probably a master and his pupil. After this date there is no certain evidence of the activity of this woodcutter. Some prints are indeed found which, at first sight, it would seem natural to refer to him; but they present considerable differences of style, and, on closer examination, are found to arrange themselves as the work of another hand. The style of the series of 16mo cuts is, to all intents and purposes, the same as that of the quartos which had preceded them by the same hand. The only differences are such as result from the smallness of the scale on which they are made, and by a visible increase of dexterity, though not of power, in the handling of materials. They were very frequently used by Leeu in his Antwerp books—no less than twenty-one times. In 1493, the year of his death, three of them went to J. de Breda at Deventer, at the same time as the quarto cut already mentioned. It is possible that these formed a stray lot, and were sold as such at the dispersion of Leeu's materials. The majority of them would by that time have been worn out; a few passed into the hands of his successor Adrian van Liesveldt, who employs them in seven books printed by him before the end of the century.

Sect. 10. *The First Antwerp Woodcutter.*

(1485—1491.)

The remainder of the series of 16mo cuts for the *Rosary* and the *Meditations of Jordanus*, mentioned in connexion with the Second Gouda woodcutter, were, as was said, the work of another hand. It is not possible to refer any other cuts definitely to the same workman. Judging, however, from this small

number, he need not delay us very long. He seems to have been careless and untaught—a decidedly rude and feelingless workman—with no ideas about graceful arrangement of line or mass. Not only was he without originality, but he was unable to follow carefully the lines already traced out. His figures are shapeless and altogether out of proportion, their faces frightful and expressionless. They are grouped together at haphazard. The outlines of drapery are stiff and angular, irregular in thickness, and arranged without any aim at harmony. The backgrounds of wall or window are out of perspective, and badly shaded with cold dead masses of short hatchings. The subjects left to him were almost all ghastly, and he treats them in a most painful manner, insisting only upon horrible details, and enforcing the brutalities of those who inflicted suffering, and not the heroism of the sufferer. He is the first, and one of the worst, of a set of men who cannot be called artists, and whose numbers increase among the woodcutters as the years pass on and bring us nearer to the end of the fifteenth century—a century which, as we know, brought with it at its close an epoch of strife and discord, and sounded the death-signal of all the glorious life of activity to which the industry of the southern provinces of the Low Countries had given rise.

A few stray cuts appear, in the year 1486, in Leeu's printing office, calling only for a passing notice. The first is his new device. It represents the famous citadel of Antwerp, surmounted by an eagle; two banners float above the principal tower, bearing the arms of the Archduke Maximilian and those of the Holy Roman Empire. The cut is not well designed: the outlines, indeed, are firm and clear, but the whole is covered with a sprinkling of short blunt shade-hatchings, which destroy all general effect and give no added meaning. The block was constantly used by Leeu during the remainder of his life; after his death it came into the possession of Th. Martens.

Another cut, which reappears at least five times, represents a Master teaching five Scholars. The subject was one very commonly introduced on the title-page of educational books. It

is therefore one of those for which a typical rendering became customary. Here we are shown the master seated in an imposing arm-chair raised on a dais. The seat is very much too large to be comfortable. On one of the arms is a rest, supporting an open book. The teacher holds an imposing birch rod in his hand, and addresses himself to the scholars, seated on a bench before him with their backs turned to the spectator. Another cut, found in company with this, and by the same hand, also displays a Master similarly furnished, seated in a chair on the right. A scholar stands before him. Between them grows a tree whose trunk and branches are wreathed with scrolls. This forms another of the well-known types, commonly found in Germany, and probably copied from a German original[1].

A book giving an account of the election and coronation of the Archduke Maximilian as king of the Romans contains a representation of the Coronation ceremony. The book itself I have not been able to see, but a reproduction of the cut (seemingly bad) is to be found in the *Messager* for 1849. It would appear to be the work of the same artist as the other two.

The style of these cuts does not require much comment. The execution is careful, but not pleasing. The arrangement of the masses of shade is on the whole bad. The lines are thick, though clear, the shade-hatchings always mechanical, and never conducing to the general effect. The design, on the other hand, shows a certain advance, especially in the cut of the master and five scholars. The positions are natural, and even animated. The figures are well grouped with reference to each other. The faces are, however, somewhat devoid of expression. The whole presents a certain aspect of freedom. There is less stiffness, and more desire to represent the facts as they might be supposed to occur. The *naïveté* is gone; the simplicity which gave their charm to the quarto series finds no place here. We have a partly successful representation of very uninteresting people. It is only a half success.

[1] A similar design is found in two woodcuts preserved in the Cabinet d'Estampes at Brussels (S. II. 21, 235 and 252).

We are reaching the period of dull mediocrity, interesting only in so far as it may serve as an example of the art in development or decay. These cuts mark for us the introduction of the new period. They show the distinct evidence of the influence upon neighbouring workmen of an artist to whom our attention must soon be directed. He had been working for the last three years at Haarlem for J. Bellaert, and we know that the connexion between that printer and Leeu was exceedingly close. It need not therefore at all surprise us to find that the woodcutters employed by Leeu should have imitated his style. The evidences of this imitation will become more clear after our attention has been devoted to the productions of the Haarlem school.

Two large sets of folio and half-folio cuts, used more than once by Gerard Leeu, were the work of the same woodcutter as the preceding miscellaneous blocks. They are met with for the first time, so far as we yet know, in the edition of Ludolphus' *Life of Christ*, published in 1487. This was illustrated by a most mixed assortment of prints. There were a large number of the quarto series of sixty-eight blocks; to fit these to the folio page there had to be made a considerable quantity of complementary cuts and side-pieces. A certain number of folios and half-folios by the Haarlem artist, or a workman of his school, are mingled with the rest, and the remainder consist of a set by the man under consideration. These, if separated from the others, form a fairly continuous series. It might, indeed, seem natural to suppose that the series would be found alone in some book for which it was specially intended, but this has not, up to the present time, been found to be the case. Some light is shed on the question by the existence of a few books, printed at Antwerp during the first third of the sixteenth century, and illustrated by a set of cuts exactly corresponding to these, but belonging to the Old Testament. One of these, which represents the Fall, does actually occur in connexion with both sets, and thus affords a further link to connect them together. Even, however, if this were not the case, there could be no doubt whatever that we have here merely the divided parts of one long series; for the similarity of style and form is

so striking that one glance is sufficient to establish their identity. It is clear that the whole series was made about the year 1487, and was intended to illustrate some translation or paraphrase of the Bible. The Old Testament part appears in *Den bibel int corte ghetranslateert* on two occasions, and seems so exactly to fit the book, that I am led to suppose it probable that G. Leeu either printed or intended to print an edition of it, with the New Testament included, and that, for it, he had this set of cuts made. The folios represent events in the life of our Lord or the Sacred history, parables, and scenes from the Apocalypse; the half-folios scenes from the Old Testament and the Four Gospels[1].

The print of Christ brought before Caiaphas possesses an interest, as showing another instance of a woodcutter copying a well-known engraver. The cut is arranged in three compartments. On the left, in the interior of a room, Caiaphas is seated on a chair raised a few steps above the level of the floor, his right arm resting on the arm, and a rod held in his hand. His legs are crossed. Christ stands before him, bound, and with a rope round His neck. He is held by three men. On the right side of the cut, Judas is seen hanging from a tree, with his money bag tied about his neck; and above, in the background, he is again represented casting the pieces of silver on the ground before the priests. That portion of the cut which represents Christ before the High Priest is a rude copy in reverse of the corresponding engraving in the well-known Passion of Martin Schongauer.

In the year 1490, the Ludolphus cuts came into the possession of Peter van Os at Zwolle; a few seem to have been lent by him for a while to J. de Breda at Deventer, in 1496. In 1499, they are all once more at Zwolle together in a fourth edition of the same book; and most of them reappear, in 1519, in the same printing office.

In the following century, as I have said, the Old Testament cuts are found at Antwerp; they are not known to have had any travels.

So far as their style and design goes, they are amongst the

[1] See note at the end of this Section.

worst productions of a bad period. They present every indication of having been done in a hurry by a careless workman, who was without interest in his work, and only strove to get it done as quickly as he could. The figures are awkward and stiff, the extremities utterly shapeless, the faces frightful, the hair like masses of rope. The gestures are distorted, and the robes graceless. The backgrounds are entirely wrong, the buildings out of perspective, the trees without life, the hills and natural features, of whatever kind, perfectly false in design and treatment. The outlines are coarse and uncertain, varying in thickness without any regard to the solid form to be expressed; the shade-hatchings are often very long and pointed, arranged, like black rays, as a shadow to detach the figures from the ground. The details which are added are often unnecessary, whilst those that are omitted are of the most vital importance. Thus, the distant hills are sometimes striped with thick bars of shade, while the people in the foreground seem to be standing or kneeling in the air, for want of a few blades of grass in the field, or a few bits of stone to suggest a road. The whole appearance of almost any of the set is suggestive of careless hurry. They are frightful to look at. Those copies of Ludolphus which I have seen have, in most cases, been carelessly printed also, so that the general effect of the whole was the ugliest imaginable. They mark a further step along the road of decline. The woodcutters have chosen to work in lines; and now the care is wanting to them to produce those lines properly. They begin to hurry and slur over their work, and the whole falls to pieces and becomes frightful at once.

A little 16mo cut, representing the Angel dictating to St Brigitta, is bad enough to be by this hand. The same may be said of a block made to complete the set for the story of the Seven Wise Men, which Leeu lent to J. Koelhof de Lubeck, a Cologne printer, in the year 1490. One of the blocks seems to have been lost by him, so that a new one had to be made. It was done by the same hand as a set made to illustrate the *Romance of Melusine.* In these the style is very strongly marked. The outlines, though firm, are rude, the features are shapeless and without expression. The foreheads are high and

broad, the noses flat, the eyes large and round, the mouths big and sharp at the corners. The arrangement of the draperies is simple, but without grace. There are not many fringed lines, but bands of parallel short hatchings frequently occur, as well as spaces covered with dull uniform shade. Short pointed hatchings are seldom found. The work is that of a rude, vulgar workman, not at all of an artist. Now and then the figures are not devoid of life, but as a rule they are frozen into rigid blocks. I believe I am right in referring all the above cuts to the same hand, but they are, without exception, so utterly bad that they might well be the work of any man, however untaught.

The set of Bible cuts by this woodcutter seem in many cases to be copied from those first used in the Cöln Bible of about 1480 and afterwards in the Nürnberg Bible of 1483. The exact relation between the two sets I have not yet had an opportunity of determining. The Cöln cuts are stated in the Preface to the Bible to be copied from pictures existing in churches and convents, by which manuscript miniatures are probably intended. Dürer's Apocalypse cuts are founded upon those illustrating the Book of Revelations, belonging to this series. The whole question however deserves further investigation, for there exist certain Apocalypse tapestries at Madrid of the same type. They have been photographed by Laurent. See *Athenæum* for Nov. 17, 1883.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HAARLEM WOODCUTTER AND HIS SCHOOL.

(1483—1500.)

11. The Haarlem Woodcutter (1483—1486). 12. The same workman, or his School, at Antwerp (1486—1495). 13. The Third Delft Woodcutter, of this School (1487—1498). 14. Cuts of this School, used at Leyden (1484—1500).

SECT. 11. *The Haarlem Woodcutter.*

(1483—1486.)

WE have seen that, about the end of the year 1483, Leeu, whilst still at Gouda, began to use a new fount of type. He had printed no books—at any rate none that have come down to us—since the end of the preceding year; and, as we have noticed, it is not unnatural to suppose that his time had been employed in casting types and other operations of a like kind. A certain portion of his new materials seem to have been sold to Jacob Bellaert, who with them started printing at Haarlem almost at the same time as Leeu recommenced at Gouda. The first book published by Bellaert was a *Liden ons Heeren.* It was illustrated with some of Leeu's set of sixty-eight quartos—a further proof of the close connexion which existed between the two printers. In addition, however, to these we find a device at the end of the book, which is at once seen to be the work of a new hand. It represents a griffin holding a blank shield, no doubt intended to be filled up by the owner of the book. In the upper part is the shield of the town of Haarlem, hanging from an ornament. The design of this cut shows a certain

amount of freedom and power. It is clearly the work of a practised hand. The outlines are not very firm, but they are pleasantly formed, and work together harmoniously. There is evidence of hesitation in the hand of the woodcutter, as though he had drawn the lines clearly enough upon his block, but had not complete control over his hand in the cutting. The print is nevertheless on the whole successful, and is an ornament to the page, not a disfigurement.

On the 15th Feb. 1484, *der Sonderen troest* was printed at the same press. This was a more extensive undertaking. It is illustrated by a large number of woodcuts. In order to economise his labour, and at the same time to fill the book with illustrations possessing a certain degree of variety, the artist adopted a kind of patchwork system. The principal series of cuts were of the quarto form. To adapt these to the width of the folio page a certain number of narrow cuts were made, one of which could be placed on each side of the larger cut; or four of them, arranged side by side, could combine to form a complete subject by themselves. The idea was not an unhappy one. The central cut, in many cases, represents the judge seated in his court, the side-pieces contain the respective pleaders who appeared before him, and thus a considerable amount of variation was possible, without the necessity of making a great number of expensive blocks. The narrow pieces, of course, had to be designed with special reference to some one particular cut, but they were afterwards thrown together as need might require, and the backgrounds had to look after themselves. The result, in the way of perspective, is often surprising enough; for, however well the principal figures may happen to agree, their accompaniments very seldom fall together, and the confusion is both wonderful and hopeless. Taking, however, each cut at its best, in its right place with its proper companions, the perspective is a decided advance upon what has gone before. The accessories of walls, windows, and pavements are more artistically chosen and more carefully finished. There is a greater amount of suitable detail added, a large number of objects upon which the eye may rest, and which have, to some extent at any rate, been studied from nature. The figures,

moreover, are more naturally rendered: there is less strain about them, less forcing of them into the required attitudes, and greater freedom of gesture and expression. This naturalism finds its expression still more plainly in the arrangement and flow of the draperies. There is no exaggeration of multiplicity in the folds, and but little unnatural fulness; the whole is well and carefully laid. The lines give some real indication as to what the stuff is meant to be, and distinguish happily enough heavy from light and stiff from flexible.

The first cut in the book—a folio—is very remarkable. It shows more of an attempt at pictorial composition than most others of the period. God the Father appears in the sky above, seen through an opening in the clouds, with an angel on either hand. These are casting Lucifer and his troop headlong on to the earth. Sin descends with them, and its evil advent is symbolised by the shower of black spots in the midst of which they fall. In the upper part of the cut, on a hill and close to the edge of a precipice, Adam and Eve are standing by the Tree of Knowledge. Eve is taking an apple from the human-headed serpent, who is coiled round its stem. The tree is much more natural than any which have appeared up to this time; the branches have a curvature of strength in them, and seem capable of growth. They are dressed with *masses* of foliage, and spread so as to hold Adam and Eve under their shadow. Behind the tree is a wall and castle; these, together with the edge of the precipice, form the enclosure of the garden. On the left side of the cut is a similar rocky elevation, but more broken, and not the scene of any event. The two precipices enclose a narrow valley. Through it a river runs into the ocean beyond, stretching away under the shower of darkness. The upper part of the cut, as we have seen, represents the origin of Evil, shown in the fall of angels and men. The lower is devoted to the Regeneration of which Baptism is the symbol. In the distance, the Ark floats on the surface of the waters; in the middle, are the children of Israel, just emerged from the Red Sea, whilst the host of Pharaoh is overwhelmed in its waters; in front, is Christ, standing in the stream, whilst John the Baptist, kneeling on the bank, pours water on his head, and the

Dove hovers above it. With all this multitude of incident the cut is not crowded. The figures are all in natural positions; the horses of Pharaoh's host do gallop, and the devils are verily falling. Were it not for the reflexion of the ark in the water, which takes the form of a series of long pointed lines, and produces the effect of a ship balanced on the back of a long comb, the whole would be a very pleasing composition.

It is, further, worthy of notice that an attempt has been made to fill the sky with clouds, the idea of them being clearly taken from pictures in the style of Memling and Bouts. It would be tedious to trace the exact correspondence between the faces of shadow in the one and the rims of colour in the other, or to follow out the attempt which the woodcutter has made to indicate variations of colour by laying the shade lines in different directions. Such points will be readily enough perceived when the print is under the eye. The valley through which the stream runs is remarkable because it shows distinct signs of water-action; not that the artist had this object definitely before him, but, in drawing his design, he must have had a real valley in his mind's eye. So the rocks on each side have been eaten away and rounded off by the river, and this to so great an extent that the upper part of the precipice on the right overhangs in a quite impossible manner, and the castle on its brow must inevitably fall headlong into the sea. The same cliff reappears in one of the cuts in the Jason series. In itself, as I say, it is of course an impossibility; but, placed where it is, as the side of a narrow waterworn valley, the forms only are exaggerated, their nature being perfectly right. Lastly, the water is really water: it splashes about the feet of the horses, it eddies round in the corner where our Lord stands, it breaks into ripples in the distance where the corpses of the Egyptians go floating out to sea. There are many other good cuts in the book, but this is the most ambitious, the most restrained, and the most successful. The artist, as it were, leaps in his first book into as good a style as he ever attained. The most noticeable feature about his work is the weakness of his lines. With all his good feeling and aim at general effect, he very seldom succeeds in

cutting his edges clearly and firmly. His lines always vary in thickness and are uncertain in length, so that, if the effect depends upon them, the result is a failure. On the other hand, when spaces of white have to be dealt with, he is quite at home. He tosses hair loose in the wind, or curls the locks of an old man's beard, with evident delight. He can throw benevolence even into the smallest face. He is always able to outline a white mass correctly. The principal side of any of his black spaces is in general correctly drawn, but he cannot cut the other side clean, he cannot finish it as a line.

He seems to have had a great facility in working, and to have been eager besides, but he was fettered by the traditions of the school. He was forced always to cut in lines, and yet lines were the very things in which he was weakest. Thus, from time to time he made a very bad block, and he never produced work of the first order. He was certainly the best woodcutter in his country at the time, but he fails from what he might have been, as many another has failed, by the throttling bonds of custom forcing him to do what, even in doing, he shows, consciously or unconsciously, to be wrong. When he has to cut clouds, or hair, or flames, or flowers, he lets his hand fly, and shows you how pleased he is to get a chance of digging into his block and thinking only of the piece he is cutting out, not of what he leaves standing. His shade-hatchings usually present considerable variety. He sometimes fringes lines with short hatchings, but then these are of all forms—one is never like its neighbour; the same is the case with jagged-edged lines. For a pleasant effect, however, you want harmony as well as variety, and this is given in these cuts to a really surprising extent. The attitudes of the figures are always unstrained, their expressions always quiet; the whole is perfectly simple and governed.

A further change was introduced by this artist in the scale of the figures in proportion to the size of the block. Previously, each figure was more than half the height of the whole, at any rate in a quarto cut, so that there was little room for background or added incident. A group of three or four people filled the whole space, and, even so, they often had to

be crowded to get them in at all. In the new style, however, this is changed. When events take place in the open air there is plenty of room left. Figures are made smaller and scattered about, hills are seen stretching away behind, and there is enough of sky above to give a feeling of room. Breadth and space, then, greater freedom and more pleasing forms and expressions, are the characteristics about this artist that divide him from all others of his day.

The *Book of the Golden Throne or the Four-and-twenty Elders* was printed on the 25th of October in the same year as *der Sonderen troest.* At the commencement of each of the twenty-four chapters is a print representing the soul, as a girl, kneeling before one of the Elders and receiving instruction from him. The Elder in each case wears a broad-brimmed hat with a crown round it. A short cloak hangs over his shoulders, whilst beneath it a heavy robe falls to his feet. It is clasped under his arms, and then separates, showing the long garment which he wears under it. These twenty-four prints are impressions from only four different blocks. In execution they are not so good as those above described, being somewhat formal and confused. The figure of the Elder is stiff, but the kneeling girl is generally graceful; her hair falls over her shoulders in wavy curls, and her dress is arranged in natural folds. In one instance the Elder is very badly drawn. He is represented as enforcing his remarks by the gestures of his hands. Put prominently forward as they are, their utter shapelessness is very noticeable. The man's position, too, is unnatural and wooden, his robe is without softness and his face without expression. In another case, however, his figure is dignified. His head is covered with a quantity of curly hair, and he wears a thick beard. His features are clearly cut, his brow protrudes, and he is just opening his mouth to speak.

Three of the cuts in the *Four Last Things* of 1484 had already appeared in *der Sonderen troest;* a new one was required for the chapter on Hell. This cut is remarkable because it differs from the usual Dutch type, of which Leeu's quarto and the picture on the Alkmaar roof may be taken

as fair examples. In those the mouth of Hell is seen open on one side, and devils are casting the condemned into it. In the background is a building filled with flames, and souls are seen in torment at the windows. On the roof is an evil-looking devil blowing a horn, and a man by him holds up a drinking jug over which the word *nobis* is written. The Haarlem artist, however, discards all these adjuncts, and simply draws the gaping mouth of a hideous beast and a few flame-clouds floating about it. The reason for this change is not evident, and I do not know of its having been followed by any other woodcutter; but it is interesting as showing that about this date the restraints of precedent were being thrown off, and woodcutters were trying to stand on their own resources—with but little credit, however, as the result proved.

In the year 1485 three remarkable books were printed at the Haarlem press, all of them illustrated with new series of cuts. The first of these was the *Historie van Jason*, the second the *Historie van Troyen*. The latter bears the date 5 May, 1485, but that of the former can only be inferred from a comparison of the state of a cut which is found in both books, but evidently less worn in the Jason than in the History of Troy. The stories in both cases are founded upon the classic myth and dressed up in mediæval form. The gods and heroes are represented as knights armed with sword and lance, who lay siege to castles or towns, lead their retainers to battle, and break lances in the lists in quite mediæval fashion. Now and then even a cannon is found in the camp of the besiegers; and the same cut is used indiscriminately for the Siege of Troy or any other of the contests of antiquity.

The first print is the same in both books, and represents the author on bended knee presenting his work to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy[1]. The shield suspended from a tree bears the arms of the family Van Ruyven, a member of which, a certain Nicolas Van Ruyven, was bailiff of Haarlem in 1471. The same arms are found in the window of the council chamber in one of the cuts of *der Sonderen troest*. In the background

[1] Holtrop, *Monuments*, p. 38.

the author is standing in meditation by the sea-shore, whilst the hero of his book passes by in a boat. The whole is surrounded by the border commonly used at this press, in which tendrils are twined gracefully together, and peacocks and other birds, monkeys, and a man with a dart, are introduced amongst the leaves. This border afterwards passed, with the rest of Bellaert's materials, into the possession of Gerard Leeu, and from him three of the pieces went to Eckert van Homberch. These he used at Delft, and afterwards at Antwerp in several of his editions.

The body of the cuts in the *History of Jason* are a set of half-folios, clearly made to illustrate the book in which they first appear. They represent the birth of the 'noble and valiant knight,' and his contests with various other knights and giants. He goes off with Queen Mirro, fights King Diomedes, and meets Peleus as the oracle foretold. The other events, in their modern dress, follow in due order: the past history of Colchis is told, and then Jason's adventures there. The story of his marriage with Medea, and his desertion of her afterwards, brings the book to an end. Three editions were published in which the cuts make their appearance. Of these Bellaert printed one—the Dutch version—and Leeu the others—one the original French text and the other Caxton's English version. The same blocks were constantly used in other books. They are found so late as the year 1531, amongst the materials of W. Vorsterman at Antwerp.

In the *Vergaderinge der historien van Troyen* the history of the town is traced according to the old tales from the very beginning. The first book contains the story of the "knight" Hercules, with the account of his ancestors as far back as Saturn, as well as that of the taking of Troy by an army led by him. The second book describes his Labours and other adventures down to his death. The third book only is devoted to the Trojan war, and is illustrated by representations of battles, the Death of Achilles, and the Wooden Horse. The whole is much more a history of Hercules than of Troy. The cuts are of the same form and style as those in the Jason.

The last book printed by Bellaert in this year, 1485, was Bartholomæus de Glanvilla's *Boeck van den proprieteyten der dinghen.* It is of the nature of an encyclopedia and describes the creation of the world and of living things, both animal and vegetable. The chapters, eleven in number, are illustrated by very remarkable folio cuts, which, so far as I know, are never found again. The first represents God Almighty seated on his throne, crowned, and holding sceptre and orb. Around him are rays of glory, which stand out brightly in comparison with the black background behind. The figure of the Most High is dignified and calm; the position and feeling of the whole represents perfect quietness, and yet conveys a sense of majesty and power. The execution is poor in detail, and the lines are wanting in firmness and definite purpose. The idea of relieving the rays and rings of light against a black background is bolder than usual, and produces a good effect, throwing up the centre and giving it a brilliancy that would hardly be expected from such rude workmanship.

The second cut is also a striking one. It represents the Fall of Angels—the subject treated in the folio cut at the beginning of *der Sonderen troest.* The Most High is seated on a throne in heaven; on each side is an angel floating with outstretched wings and skirts blowing in the wind. This group is surrounded by a glory of rays and rings. Four demons are seen below—one falling headlong through the air, two prostrate on the earth, and the fourth disappearing into the sea. Traces of the traditions of the school of Roger van der Weyden are evident here, especially in the angels about the throne. Their robes are lifted and doubled by the breeze into the multitudinous folds we so often notice in that master's pictures. The design of these figures is graceful, the main outlines of their draperies are excellently harmonized with a view to general effect; on the other hand, in execution they give evidence of a hesitating hand, strongly contrasting with the boldness and breadth of the design. For shading we have groups of little uncertain dots, or dashes of varying length laid at uncertain angles; yet the general result is good,

and argues a designer of more than ordinary power. Can he have been a different man from the woodcutter?

Of the remaining cuts it is not possible to speak in detail. None of them are so good as the preceding two, though all are tolerably designed and not inharmoniously executed. The sixth, which represents the occupations characteristic of the twelve months, each in a little circle to itself, is perhaps the nicest. The old man with his boots off warming his feet before the fire, in February, and the seed-sowing in October, are both charming little prints. In many cases extensive landscapes are introduced, in which some attempt to render nature is traceable—an attempt to represent what was to be studied by wandering in the fields instead of stuffing in the workshop. It is noticeable that in most cases the point of sight is high, as though the spectator were standing on the top of a tower. This characteristic, indeed, is common to almost all elementary schools of landscape drawing, whether Asiatic or European; the old "willow pattern" of the plates may be mentioned as an example. It was, at all events, usual at this period with all woodcutters; nor with them only, but with painters also, for it enabled them to introduce a larger area of background as a field for minor incidents. Many of the details give evidence of careful study from nature. Thus, in the last cut a lion and an elephant form a striking contrast to each other; for the designer has clearly enough seen an elephant in his day, and has drawn him from the life; not only so, but he is proud of his performance, and puts him conspicuously in the front. But a lion he has never seen, has not the least idea what a real lion is like, so he places him away in the background, and draws him conventionally enough — fighting with the unicorn.

Owing to the goodness of the designs, or rather to their good feeling, and to the fact that the woodcutter, though not a strong artist, was not a boldly vulgar one, like the Delft cutter to whom we shall presently come, the general effect of this series is pleasing, though the details are not worthy of high praise. There are many littlenesses, but few bold false strokes; there are many points omitted which might with advantage have been introduced, but few are introduced which

the woodcutter ought to have known should be differently treated.

We have seen that in the first book printed by Bellaert Leeu's quarto cuts were employed as illustrations. These, however, were returned to Gouda, for the whole set appear in Leeu's *Devote Ghetiden*, of about 1484. So, for the *Epistles and Gospels* of April 1486, Bellaert required a new set of blocks, if he did not already possess a series from which he could select suitable subjects. We find, accordingly, a number of quartos, apparently new, and by the hand of a Haarlem artist, appearing in this book. That they are not all that Bellaert possessed of this form we know, because most of them, in company with a considerable number more by the same hand, appear in Peter van Os' *Ludolphus* of 1499, where they take the places which, in the edition of 1495, had been occupied by some of Leeu's series of sixty-eight quartos. Putting together the cuts which we find in these two books, we discover that there existed at least forty-nine quarto blocks, being subjects from the Life and Passion of Christ. These, so far as they go, are the same as those in Leeu's series, so that it is not at all impossible that there may have been still a certain number more which would render the two sets quite similar. This, however, is a supposition. It must be noted that the Haarlem quartos cannot be called copies of Leeu's except in a general sense. They are of the same type, but, as I believe, copied from a different set of copper-plate engravings,—such, for example, as the second long series preserved in the British Museum, to which they bear a striking resemblance.

In style they are the worst cuts which have come from this workshop. They present every indication of hasty manufacture. The lines are sketchy and vague, every effort having been made to produce them with as great speed and as little work as possible. Hair is rendered with a few hurried strokes, drapery is carelessly drawn with saw-edged lines. There is no counterbalancing grace in the design to carry off this weakness in the outlines. The figures are scattered about without any attempt at connected grouping. Descending to

details, the management of the small white spaces is as crude and thoughtless as that of the long lines. The faces are devoid of expression, or else they are frightful with absurd grimace. The figures are misproportioned, being either long and slim or short and stumpy; the perspective is faulty, and the landscapes unnatural. Comparing the Baptism of Christ here with the same subject in the corner of the folio cut at the beginning of *der Sonderen troest* the falling off is at once evident. It seems not impossible that we may have in these new blocks the work of some less practised apprentice of the man who made the other sets.

The 24th July 1486 was the date of publication of the next book known to have been printed by Bellaert—the *Doctrinael des Tyts.* Like most of its predecessors, it is illustrated by a series of new and noticeable cuts. They were certainly made to illustrate the most remarkable points of this allegory, written by Pierre Michault. We never find them again in any fifteenth-century book, but they formed part of the materials used by Peter John Tyebaut at Amsterdam in the next century. The substance of the book is as follows:—The author, wandering in a forest, comes upon a valley; as he makes his way along it he meets a young and beautiful lady, and enters into conversation with her. She tells him that her name is Virtue, and offers to conduct him to see the underground school in which the men of his day are educated. He willingly consents, and they very soon find themselves in a spacious hall, at one end of which a woman named Falsehood is seated in a Professor's chair lecturing to a class of students. She is the head of the school, and presides over all the other Professors. Virtue conducts the author to the lectures of Arrogance, Lust, Detraction, Scandal, Vanity, Ambition, Rapine, Corruption, Flattery and Mockery. All these take place in the same hall, Falsehood sitting in the background in her elevated seat, and the lecturer standing, sitting, or swaggering about, according as the text describes him, and wearing a hat or not as the case may be. The listeners sit on benches in a row on each side; Virtue and the author generally appear in the background. After they have heard a specimen of all that the Professors have to say at

this school, Virtue leads her companion through the forest, along a track overgrown with briars and thorns, and almost effaced by the negligence of years, to the School of the Virtues. With some difficulty they obtain an entrance into the building, where they find Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice. They have some conversation about the degeneracy of the age, and the author is then sent home to write down what he has heard and seen.

The execution of the cuts, which, as the list will show, illustrate the leading points of the story, is on the whole careful. They are, without doubt, the work of the same hand as the rest of the Haarlem blocks. The figures are carefully drawn—more carefully perhaps than usual, owing to the minute descriptions to which they must correspond. As usual with this workman, the buildings form the worst part of the design; and this is all the more noticeable here because there is some attempt made to give the School of the Vices an imposing appearance. It is built in the form of a nave flanked by aisles, which are divided from it by a row of lofty pillars. The roof of the central division is high and round, seemingly made of wood, supported on strong girders.

In the two forest cuts the trees present considerable variety and appearance of life, and the plants are more or less closely studied from nature—the bramble, at any rate, being conspicuous with its thorns. In the last cut we have a representation of the School of the Virtues (*doechden scole*), where the four Cardinal Virtues are seated under canopies in a round vaulted hall, the roof of which is sustained on a central pillar. Fortitude is known by her pillar, Temperance pours out water, Prudence has a book, Justice holds a sword and scales. The author and his guide enter at a door in front. Outside the door are the weeds that have grown on the disused path, and the serpent and frog, whose home is in the rank and bitter grass. The building itself is ruinous and the walls cracked.

This is not the earliest printed edition of the work, Colard Mansion having published the original French text in folio, without cuts, about the year 1479. It was written, however,

some time before that date, and seems to have been dedicated in 1466 to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy.

The last book printed at the Haarlem press bears date August 20th 1486. It is entitled the *Boeck van den pelgherijm,* and is a Dutch prose translation of the poem by Guillaume de Deguileville called *Pélerinage de l'homme, durant quest en vie, ou le Pélerinage de la vie humaine*[1]. The history and origin of the French poem, and the various translations or abridgements of it which were made from time to time, are of course beyond the pale of our present purpose[2]. The story relates how the Pilgrim, seeing in a mirror the Celestial City, turns his back on the City of Destruction. He starts on his pilgrimage under the guidance of a woman called *Gracie gods.* The various incidents which befall him on his journey form the subjects of the wood-cuts. The blocks we know to have been used twice—once in the folio volume with which we are immediately concerned, and again in a quarto edition of the same book printed at Delft by Eckert van Homberch, in 1498. A glance at a copy of the Delft edition suffices to show that the blocks were intended for a quarto page. With the exception of the quarto cut on the title-page they are all the half-quarto size—that, namely, of a small quarto divided in half horizontally. To adapt these to the width of the folio page, two side-pieces were made. Each represents a man lying on a bank asleep, and the cut placed by its side is the vision he is supposed to have seen.

The work is much less careful than that of most of the series which have gone before. Indeed, this set must be grouped with the quartos as probably made by a pupil. In addition, they look somewhat old and worn, as though (which

[1] J. C. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire,* 5th edition: Paris, 1860—1865, 6 vols. 8vo, vol. ii., col. 1823.

[2] The reader may consult the following:—

"The ancient poem of Guillaume de Guileville entitled *le Pélerinage de l'Homme* compared with the *Pilgrim's Progress* of John Bunyan, edited from notes collected by the late Mr Nathaniel Hill, London, 1858, 4to." It contains reproductions of three of the Haarlem cuts.

The Pilgrimage of the Lyf of the Manhode, from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville: Roxburgh Club; London, 1869, 4to.

is not at all impossible) they had already been used in an earlier edition. A good deal of character is manifested in several of the figures—as, for example, in the Pilgrim, where he stands hampered by his armour, the two women baking cakes, or the porter who comes angrily to the gate. The woodcutting is generally rude and wanting in finish. The faces are roughly indicated with a few expressionless lines, the hair is coarse and heavily laid in lines without grace. In the draperies a free use is made of thick shade lines, few outlines are employed, and they are made to go as far as possible, the attempt having been to avoid all details except such as were indispensable, and to produce those with a minimum of trouble.

SECT. 12. *The same Workman, or his School, at Antwerp* (1486—1495).

After the publication of this book we hear nothing more about Bellaert or his press. Some of his materials—two or three cuts and his one fount of type—came into the possession of Janszoen, who used them at Leyden in December 1494, and January 1495. The remainder seems to have gone to swell the stock of Gerard Leeu, at Antwerp, and it is not impossible that Janszoen may have purchased the fount of type and the cuts which he used after the death of Leeu at the sale of that printer's stock. Not only did the blocks of many of the above-described books go to Antwerp, but the artist who made them seems to have gone there too, and settled down as one of Leeu's workmen. We know that this printer employed one man, and possibly more than one, as founder of types; and it is not at all unlikely that he would retain for the work of his press one or more woodcutters. On the look-out for a good workman, he immediately engaged the Haarlem artist as soon as his occupation at Haarlem came to an end. Whether this was really the case, or whether the woodcutter employed by Leeu was a pupil of Bellaert's workman, it may not be easy to settle.

The *Histoire du Chevalier Paris et de la belle Vienne,* which Leeu printed on the 15th May 1487, contains a series of cuts by the same hand as those already met with in Bellaert's *Historie van Jason* and the *Historie van Troyen.* I am much inclined, however, to think that further investigation will prove that an earlier edition of this book for which these cuts were made came from the Haarlem press about the year 1485. The close connexion which exists between these cuts and those in the romance of Jason is especially noticeable in the case of that representing the jousts at Vienne. The knights who are in the act of riding against each other are copied closely from the same original as those in a similar subject depicted in the Jason series; the only difference between the two blocks is in the figures and buildings in the background. Placing these cuts side by side, the identity of the workmanship admits of no doubt.

The subjects represented are the main incidents in the romance. Paris, a portionless knight, falls in love with Vienne, the daughter of the Dauphin. In company with his friend Edward he serenades her, and when attacked by a numerous guard they put them to flight. Shortly afterwards jousts are held at the town of Vienne, when Paris wins the prize, which he receives from his mistress. After various events the hand of Vienne is refused by her father to Paris, and the couple accordingly elope. They are pursued and overtaken; and Paris, leaving Vienne in sanctuary, has to take flight. The soldiers capture Vienne and lead her back home, where, shortly after her arrival, she is demanded in marriage by the son of the Duke of Burgundy. She refuses to accept him, and is put in prison by her father. The story now follows the adventures of Paris. He tries to drown his cares by going to the Holy Land, but is taken prisoner by the infidels. After a certain length of time he gains the confidence of his captors, and becomes advanced to a high position at their court. One day he finds the Dauphin himself among the prisoners in a gaol. They make an agreement to escape together by the connivance of the gaoler. The plot is fortunately crowned with success, and they once more return to France. The Dauphin in his gratitude gives Vienne

to her lover, who goes to fetch her from the prison to which her constancy had confined her.

Many of the cuts are designed with considerable grace, the figures are well grouped, and their attitudes and gestures are natural and unconstrained. The heroine is often represented successfully as a maiden at once quiet and pretty, though it must be allowed that her beauty is not always conspicuous. For the rest, the knights, whether on foot or horseback, are treated in exactly the same style as in the earlier series, and, though natural when in repose, are wooden if violent action is intended. The work as a whole attains a fair share of success, though of a somewhat low order.

A few fragments of an edition of *Reynard the Fox* are preserved in the University Library at Cambridge. The book from which they come was clearly printed by Gerard Leeu about the year 1486 or 1487, and was illustrated by a series of woodcuts which link themselves in style of workmanship to those by the woodcutter we are investigating. Portions of three quartos alone have been preserved. The first of these is an animated picture. In front, on the right, the interior of a room is seen, with two people seated at a table. They are preparing to make a meal, when Reynard comes and runs away with the provisions. He is seen again on the left pursued by three men. Apparently they are unable to catch him, for he appears at a window of a room in the upper story of a house to which he has fled for refuge, and in two other places.

The execution of all three cuts bespeaks a careful hand, a tendency being observable to a too great minuteness of detail. The figures, though on the whole well designed, are somewhat stiff and their actions rather strained. The expressions are scarcely natural, this artist always failing when transient emotion is to be depicted. Animals are not always well rendered, but the chicken and geese in the second print deserve praise. Trees and shrubs are covered with a symbolic representation of foliage, which shows that the artist had attempted to bring his symbolism into closer accordance with reality.

We have already referred to the large series of folio and

half-folio cuts which appear in the *Ludolphus* of 3rd Nov. 1487. These, as I believe, were made for some other book, such as a translation or paraphrase of the New Testament, and were only forced into the position which they at present occupy. A certain number of gaps were left, which had to be filled up by cuts of different sizes, and to produce these the Haarlem woodcutter was employed. Some folios were amongst the blocks made by him, and these were the best work he ever did. The most striking of them are three which represent Christ with the Twelve. In one he confides the keys to Peter, in the second he is seated teaching, and in the third the subject represented is the Last Supper, the whole party standing about a round table. The figure of Christ is in all cases dignified. An air of quietness pervades the whole; the Apostles listen thoughtfully to the words of their Master. They are not required to evince any sudden change of emotion, and so the feeling to be expressed falls within the range of the artist's capabilities. The figures are all well designed and rightly proportioned, they stand or sit in natural positions, the gestures of their hands are such as would be expected,—there is nothing awkward or absurd about them. The grouping is throughout well balanced and harmonious, without becoming conventional or forced. The draperies are arranged in graceful folds, and the shade hatchings are not added in excess, nor do they produce an effect of baldness by their fewness. The half-folio blocks present the same characteristics as the folios, only they do not give evidence of the same careful finish or the same pleasure of the artist in his work. It is in the few folio cuts he has left that this woodcutter shows us his real capacities. The narrow quartos, or side-pieces, are much less worthy of praise, and fall on the lower level with the smaller cuts.

In the same month as the *Ludolphus* a small quarto volume appeared, entitled the *Hoofkyn van devotien* (Garden of Devotion). It is illustrated by quarto cuts made for the places in which they are found. The subjects throughout are allegorical. The soul, represented as a girl, hears the voice of Christ calling her to come into his garden. She rises to obey, and, following

the path of Penitence, she reaches the gate, but finds it locked. She kneels in prayer without, and is then admitted by Obedience, who takes her to the four Virtues, her handmaids. They lead her about the garden, and she hears the angels sing. She is then brought to the foot of the cross of Christ, and her heart is pierced with an arrow by Faith. In the garden is a fountain from which she drinks; after this Faith teaches her the Art of Loving, and seated at the foot of the cross she sings for joy of the Love of God. Finally Christ, as Wisdom, appears to her himself, and she kneels at his feet and listens to his words.

The cuts are in all cases carefully finished and nicely designed. The figures are rather thin and meagre, but still they are not wanting in elegance, and are usually well grouped. The draperies are gracefully hung about standing figures, but about those sitting or kneeling the folds are rendered with exaggerated complication. The garments are shaded with a multitude of short sharp lines, which sometimes become confused at their broad ends and merge into a jagged space. The attitudes are natural and expressive, the arms being particularly good. The prints as a whole err from want of depth. The shading on the far wall of the garden is too hard and sharp. The perspective is faulty, and the figures are too large in proportion to other objects. The walls are shaded sometimes with long parallel lines, sometimes with rows of shorter lines, and sometimes with dots and short hatchings scattered indiscriminately about. The trees are not very good, and the fountain is decidedly ugly; nevertheless a right feeling pervades the whole, showing that the artist had penetrated into the spirit of the book, one of the least noxious of the kind produced at this period of spiritual decay. The figure of the girl who represents the soul is always expressive, whether she be hearing the call of Christ, walking along the way of Penitence, or bending submissively before Obedience.

A small volume preserved in the public library at Hamburg is the only known copy of an *Officium beatæ Mariæ Virginis,* printed by Leeu in 1487. It is illustrated by five 32mo cuts by this artist. They are nicely painted in the copy in question,

and present a more attractive appearance, no doubt, than if they had been left plain. As woodcuts their execution cannot be entirely commended. The designs are certainly good. The figures and drapery are graceful, involving but few lines and those of the simplest. The cutter has been successful in dealing with all the main outlines, but he has failed in the smaller details of features and shading, the scale being too minute for his powers and tools. The faces are wanting in expression and often in form, the features being rather hazarded than accurately defined. This, however, is not always the case. The Blessed Virgin by the Cross is nicely drawn, with simple features rightly proportioned and undistorted. The priest in the Vigils of the Dead is calm and his attitude is easy and natural; his surplice falls simply over his arms and hangs without exaggeration of fold. The kneeling figure of the saint in the Mass of St Gregory is not without dignity, and may be commended for its devotional rendering. The work of the whole set gives further evidence that the artist was a careful man, somewhat overtaxed indeed by his task on this occasion, but none the less giving his full attention to it, and never failing through carelessness, though sometimes for want of finer tools. Considering the early date of the book, these little miniatures must be allowed to be a triumph of skill.

In the following year a new set of rather small cuts was made to illustrate an octavo book called the *Kintscheyt Jhesu*. It is divided into three parts. The first tells of the Child Jesus, and how he was brought up by twenty Virtues; the second describes the Soul's hunt after him—the Soul being represented as a girl with a hound, and the Child as a deer in a forest; the third tells how the Child was nailed to a tree by seven Virtues. The cuts illustrate the various incidents, and are in the style of those in the "Garden of Devotion."

Passing over a few minor cuts, we come next to the interesting series of quartos made to illustrate a new edition of the *Seven Wise Men*, which was printed in April 1488, with the name of Claes Leeu, probably a brother of Gerard's. I have not been able to see a copy of this book, but have no doubt at all that it

contained the cuts in question, which are clearly by this woodcutter. In the year 1490, we find them reappearing in another edition of the same story printed at Cologne by J. Koelhof de Lubeck, to whom the blocks must have been lent. He returned them to Leeu with the exception of one, which was either retained by him or lost on the journey; and the imperfect set, a new block being made by another hand to replace the lost one[1], was employed in the edition printed by Leeu on the 6th Nov. 1490[2]. The style of the cuts presents no further developments. One of them represents the Emperor with a drawn sword in his hand coming angrily into the chamber of his wife to charge her with infidelity. She is seated in a chair on the right, with her hands clasped in an attitude rather of shyness than fear or remorse. The reason for this is discoverable from the fact that along the top of the bed the words *Ave Regina cælorum* can be traced, carved in reverse. It is probable that the whole cut, with the exception of the figure of the Emperor, was copied from some print of the Annunciation.

In the *Ludolphus* of 1488 we have two or three new cuts, the most remarkable of which is a folio representing Christ as *Salvator Mundi,* standing under an archway before a rich hanging. It is one of the best cuts the artist ever made, and evidences much care, as well as a development of power.

We cannot point to any blocks engraved in the years 1489 and 1490, though possibly there were some of which we have no record. A few make their appearance in 1491, but they are of no great importance. 1492, however, was a year of greater activity. In January *Een devoet exercitie van den dochteren van Syon* appeared, illustrated with seven new quarto cuts. They are all of an allegorical character in the style of those in the

[1] See p. 58 above.

[2] The cuts are obviously by this woodcutter, and must have been made for Leeu; they appear complete at Cologne in an edition visibly earlier than Leeu's edition of 1490, and when he uses them himself they are imperfect; hence there must be an earlier Leeu edition of the book in which they occur. Such an edition with cuts is known to have been printed in 1488; hence I conclude that, when a copy of that is found, it will prove to contain the series in question complete.

"Garden of Devotion" and the *Kintscheyt Jhesu.* After Leeu's death they seem to have gone to Deventer, though we never find them used there till the early years of the next century, when Albert Paffroet constantly employed them.

Two cuts, representing the Madonna and Child and the Mater Dolorosa, appear, with seven other octavos, in a book entitled *Die seven Ween van O. L. Vrouwen* (Seven Sorrows). They are interesting as the only cuts of this period to which we can with certainty point as copied from paintings. In the first, the Blessed Virgin is seen half-figure, standing and turned slightly to the right. She holds the Child, seated and clothed in a long garment, on her left arm; he raises his right hand to bless. She wears a robe fastened about her neck by a jewelled collar, and over it a cloak prolonged into a hood which covers her head. On her neck is a small black cross; a star is embroidered on her head-dress above her forehead, and there is another on her shoulder. Resting on the top of her head is a simple crown, formed of a plain fillet from which a series of oblong projections stand up all round. She holds an apple in her right hand. The background of the cut is filled with a rich hanging. The text of the book informs us that "this is an accurate copy of the picture of our dear sweet Lady and her blessed Son, dressed and depicted as she was in her fifteenth year, when she went and presented him to St Simeon in the Temple; and it is copied from the picture which St Luke painted and made, and which stands in Rome in the Church called '*Sinte Marie Maior.*'"

The other cut is simpler. It represents the Blessed Virgin, seen also half-figure and standing, facing somewhat to the left. She holds her left hand against her breast and raises the right in token of sorrow. She wears a heavy cloak, which is wrapped closely about her in many folds, and is cast over the head much in the same way as in the other cut. There is no background, and nothing to show that she is standing at the foot of the cross; but we read in the text "This is an accurate copy of the picture of Mary, Mother of God, which stands in Rome in the convent called *Ara Cœli*, and which St Luke painted and made; and it is just so as she

stood under the cross all sorrowful. And this picture was brought in procession to Rome in St Gregory the Holy Pope's time; and men heard the angels singing before it *Regina coeli letare alleluya etc.*" We further read that the book itself "is taken out of the letter which a noteable and very devout man Peter, confessor of the convent of Thabor at Mechlin, sent to the '*deken*' of Abbenbroeke and '*pastoer*' of Remmerswale; which letter was in twelve metres or verses on the Seven Sorrows, and they were written or painted before the true pictures of Our dear Lady at Abbenbroeke and at Remmerswale which were carefully copied and made from the pictures painted or made by St Luke," the same—it goes on to say—as those at Rome mentioned before.

In connexion with this it is worthy of notice that, in the year 1454, Petrus Cristus was sent by the Count d'Estampes to Cambrai to take three copies of a certain wonderful picture of the Madonna, which had recently been brought from Rome, from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and was highly reverenced as the work of St Luke himself[1]. Of these copies one is said to be preserved in the Hospital of Cambrai[2]. When I visited that town, in February 1880, I could find no trace of the picture; but it may possibly be in the Cathedral, unless it has been destroyed in a weeding which took place a few years ago, when the picture gallery was removed to its present home. Whether, however, this would turn out to be the original from which either that at Remmerswale or Abbenbroeke, towns in the diocese of Utrecht, was copied; and whether, if so, those pictures were by the hand of Petrus Cristus, remains an undetermined question.

A picture representing the Mater Dolorosa in all respects as she is depicted in the woodcut is, however, to be seen in the Old Pinakoteck at Munich[3]. It is certainly closely related to the woodcut, and both must have been descendants from some

[1] De Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne, Preuves*, Vol. i. p. cxxiv., quoted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Geschichte der Altniederlændischen Malerei*—Leipsic, 1875; p. 143, note.

[2] *Catalogue du Musée d'Anvers*, 3me édition, 1874, p. 76.

[3] Catalogue, 1879, No. 694.

common original. The only difference between them is in the background, where four angels within a framework of clouds on a gold ground are arranged above the Virgin's head in the form of an arch. The style of the painting is rather that of the sixteenth than of the fifteenth century. It is referred in the Munich Catalogue to a Westphalian master working under Italian influence. The flesh-colouring is dark and sallow, the pigments being very smoothly laid on the face and hands. The colour of the flesh shadows is a cold brown; they are carefully worked up in a somewhat elaborate system of chiaroscuro. The feature-outlines are very soft, especially in the case of the mouth and chin. The robe is of a rich but rather opaque blue, with shades of green in it in the lights, and carried down almost to blackness. Here the colours are laid on with short strokes of a thickly loaded brush, every stroke being readily traceable. The angels behind have square, ugly faces; their robes somewhat recall the manner of the Cologne masters; the lights on them are yellow, whatever the colour of the robe itself may happen to be. The wings are golden, picked out with red or green. This does not accord with the style of Petrus Cristus. The existence of the painting affords confirmatory evidence of the popularity of the picture and the distance to which copies of it were spread. They were no doubt to be found in many towns. It does not therefore do to conclude that the cuts representing the Mater Dolorosa in this position, which we find used by Snellaert in 1494, by Thierry Martens in 1496, and by Janszoen in 1500, were copied from Leeu's print; it being quite possible, and in Martens' case probable, that they were taken from painted copies of the picture[1].

The execution of this set of cuts resembles in style that of the more careful of the artist's works. The outlines on the whole are carefully cut, especially in the longer sweeps of the drapery. The shade hatchings are very happily laid, and present pleasing varieties in form. The attitudes and gestures

[1] I am informed by Mr Weale that an old painting of this type still exists in one of the churches at Bruges.

seem to be faithfully rendered, though the Byzantine character, which the original painting no doubt possessed, has been lost in the copying. The curtain which forms the background in the first cut is an embellishment to it, and neither attracts too much attention by great intricacy or finish, nor displeases by careless rudeness. The other seven cuts in the book are similar to these in point of execution, only they are not quite so well done. Their subjects are of the usual type, and do not call for further remark.

The last new series of cuts which Leeu used occurs in the *Corona Mystica* of October 1492. They are designed so that various combinations of the different blocks may be made, and thus variety of a certain kind attained with little trouble or expense. The crown of the Blessed Virgin is described as adorned with twenty emblems. Of these ten are jewels, seven flowers, and the other three the sun, the moon, and a star. Each emblem is taken in turn and laid upon the altar, before which a man or woman kneels in prayerful meditation. The blocks include four crowns, two of which show the emblems on one side of the crown, and the other two those on the other. Two blocks of each sort were required in order that eight pages might be printed at a time. Besides these there are four cuts representing a figure kneeling, and four altars before which the figure kneels, one of each kind being combined together to complete the representation. A number of bits of wood are used carved each with a separate symbol, whether jewel or flower, one being introduced on each occasion into a hole cut for it within the blank space which represents the surface of the altar. The effect is thus produced of laying each of the twenty symbols in turn upon the altar. The style of the execution is on the whole careful; they closely recall those in the *Kintscheyt Jhesu.* They do not show any advance in power of dealing with the materials, though perhaps there are traces of more dexterity in working along the old lines.

The Cronycles of the Londe of Englond was, as we know, the book which Leeu was printing at the time of the unfortunate catastrophe which resulted in his death; it is not illustrated with woodcuts, but on the title-page is a quarto cut

representing the shield of England supported by two angels, who are kneeling in a flat country. There are enough indications in the treatment of the drapery of the angels, and in the style of their faces and hair, to enable us to class this cut with those which have preceded as the work of the Haarlem cutter.

When Leeu died his materials were dispersed abroad. Some of them went to Peter van Os at Zwolle, some to Deventer, and some remained at Antwerp, in the hands of Adrian van Liesveldt and Thierry Martens. An edition of the Epistles and Gospels printed by J. de Breda at Deventer, on 1 March 1493—probably before the regular dispersion of Leeu's materials took place—contains nevertheless a series of 16mo cuts, already old, which are clearly the work of the Haarlem cutter or one of his school. They are in all eighteen in number, and may possibly be a set complete in themselves. In point of execution they do not show much skill, the lines being too vague and uncertain. The expressions of the faces are never good, the features being hastily carved. The attitudes, however, and the arrangement of the draperies, as well as the freedom shown in the grouping, can point to no school of woodcutting but this. So far as I know, the cuts are not found in any Haarlem or Antwerp book, but other Antwerp cuts appear at Deventer, and these may have gone with them. No Deventer cutter made anything at all like them. They were employed on at least three different occasions by Jacob de Breda, and we find them still in use in 1518 in the office of Tyman de Os, at the neighbouring town of Zutphen.

A few other blocks used by Liesveldt have also been given to this woodcutter, whose style they very strongly recall. They are all old when first found, and must clearly have appeared in earlier books unknown to us; they appear in company with other Leeu cuts. Liesveldt, indeed, never seems to have used blocks but such as he bought second-hand—except those required to illustrate the edicts concerning the value of the coinage, which he was accustomed to print.

To the Haarlem school belong a few cuts used from time to time by Godfrey Back after Leeu's death. There is no evidence

to show that any of them ever belonged to Leeu; nor is it likely that they did, since two of them were copied from cuts used by him. The first is a copy in reverse of one of the *Kintscheyt Jhesu* series, much of the manner of the original being retained; the second is taken from a Mass of St Gregory employed by Liesveldt. It is a well-executed cut, and presents on the whole considerable variety, a pleasant distribution of work all over, and careful finish where it is wanted. Christ appears behind the altar in the *mandorla*, with his left hand raised to bless. He is standing half hidden in the tomb. The walls on each side are shaded, so as to throw up the figures in front. The Saint is seen, almost from behind, kneeling in the middle of the foreground. An assistant kneels on the left, holding the tiara in his hands. He seems to be a thoughtful man, but does not see the vision. The other assistant does not see it either, but turns his eyes towards the Saint, struck by something remarkable in him.

In the *Epistelen ende Evangelien* of 1496 is a 16mo cut of the Presentation in the Temple. The Blessed Virgin stands on the right, by the side of a small table over which she holds the Child in her hands. Simeon stands opposite to her, and raises his left hand in speaking whilst he stretches out his right, as though about to take the Child. Joseph and two other people are seen behind. The cut is carefully finished. The walls are shaded, and the window on the right is filled with the interlaced lead-binding of the panes. The face of the Blessed Virgin is pleasing, and her hair is prettily thrown back. The shade lines, though firm, are thin, and, in the case of the Saint's robe, they show a tendency to thicken at the bottom. The main outlines are evenly cut and harmoniously arranged, and the whole is good work, though of rather a low order.

I have included amongst the works of the Third Antwerp Woodcutter a 16mo Rosary found in a *Mariæ Corona* of about 1495. It affords very slight grounds for the formation of an opinion, but I do not feel at all sure that it should not be referred to the cutter of the preceding block.

Two square quarto cuts must also be classed with these, though the date of their first appearance is unknown. They are

clearly companion blocks, made by the same woodcutter at the same time. They represent students of natural history. In the first, a student is seated in a tree whilst his companion lies, sleeping or meditating, on the grass at its foot. In the second they are both seated at the foot of a tree: one is certainly asleep this time, whilst the other is writing. The first is employed at least twice by Back, in a *Questiones Naturales* without date, and in a *Herbarius* of 1511; the second is only found in the possession of Thierry Martens, who includes it in a volume *De varietate Astronomiæ*, printed at Antwerp about the year 1503. Judging from their style, the date of the blocks cannot be after 1495.

Sect. 13. *The Third Delft Woodcutter, of this School* (1487—1498).

A few cuts used at Delft and not found anywhere else must here be described—recalling, as they strongly do, the style of the Haarlem cutter. They must be considered to be the work of a pupil of his school. The first is a rather large octavo, representing the Image of Pity; it is found in the *Troest der conscientien*, printed about 1487. It occurs in some other books, and was still in use in 1498. When first found it does not seem new, and I cannot help believing that further investigation will prove it to have come from Bellaert's cutter. The shading with black dots of various shapes, the arrangement of the locks of the hair and beard, the pointed forehead, the form of the limbs, the style of the nimbus, all mark it as his work.

In the Delft *Passionael* of 1487 we find two more cuts, which, though not so strongly like Haarlem work, have still many points in common with it. The first is a 16mo, usually surrounded by the small border so frequently met with. It represents St Jerome, standing in front of a rich hanging. In his right hand he holds an open book, and with his left he is caressing the lion, who reaches up his forepaws to his master. The Saint wears a cardinal's hat and

cloak. The second cut is an octavo; it represents St Anne, also standing before a rich hanging, with the Blessed Virgin in her arms. The latter holds the Child on her knee. In both cases we find the same careful handling of details. The figures have a naïve simplicity which is very charming; the attitudes are perhaps a little stiff, but they are not awkward. Lines fringed with short broad hatchings which quickly come to a point are not unfrequently used.

In *der Kersten Spiegel*, printed about the same time, the Image of Pity and St Jerome reappear, and with them two more cuts which may possibly be by the same hand. They represent the Crucifixion, and the signs of the Four Evangelists with the Child Christ seated in the centre.

Lastly, in the *Zielentroest*, published by Eckert van Homberch about the year 1498, we find a very striking cut of Christ in glory amongst his Saints. It is clearly a work of this school. Back used it on the title-page of his edition of the same book, printed 21 Sept. 1500, probably about the time when Eckert had arrived in Antwerp but had not yet started printing. The principal figure in the print is Christ in the *mandorla*. Among the clouds which surround him are angels. He holds in his left hand an orb, and his right is raised to bless; he is crowned with the crown of Empire. Below him on the earth kneel the saints, women on the left, men on the right; amongst the former are the Blessed Virgin, St Catharine, St Margaret, St Barbara, St Ursula; amongst the latter, St John the Baptist, St Peter, and St Paul. The composition of the whole is admirable, and may well have been suggested by some more extensive work, whether of painting or engraving. The execution is also good. The faces are all pleasing and characteristic, the hair is generally wavy, and the angels' wings are graceful and light. The figure of Christ is majestic, and stands out among white rays from a black ground. The faces of the angels are quiet and devotional. St Peter, amongst the male saints, is perhaps the best. His head is designed in the conventional fashion, with a fringe of hair round it and a short square beard, but his face wears a happy expression which is rare in woodcuts, or even in pictures, of so late a date. Amongst the women per-

haps the most noticeable is St Barbara, kneeling with her book open and her tower by her side. Her hair falls prettily on to her shoulders, and her dress is arranged in sweeping curves without distortion or exaggeration. The figures are grouped without crowding or conventionality, at the same time they are well balanced. The principal outlines are somewhat strongly marked, whilst the shading is rather light and possesses considerable variety. The treatment of the hair recalls the Haarlem cutter, but the fine shade hatchings, interlaced with each other and constantly changing, can scarcely have been made by him; besides, there are hardly any fringed lines, and the outlines are firmer than he was wont to make them.

Sect. 14. *Cuts of this School, used at Leyden* (1484—1500).

Other works which stand out as the productions of the Haarlem school were from time to time used in the neighbouring town of Leyden. Henricus Henrici commenced printing there in 1483. His books are without woodcuts, with the exception of Thomas Aquinas' *Tractatus de Humanitate Christi*, published in 1484. At the end of this is a somewhat crude octavo device, representing a lion holding two shields, the one bearing the arms of Leyden, the other those of the printer. The cut is nowise remarkable. It is executed in the style common at the period—clear outlines supported by a few widely separated hatchings. It seems to have been the only production of the woodcutter which has come down to us.

We meet with no new Leyden cuts till Hugo Janszoen van Woerden comes forward as a printer. He starts on the 10th Dec. 1494, with a fount of type and a few cuts which had formed part of the materials used at Haarlem by Jacob Bellaert. In 1495 he printed a *Ghetidenboec*, which I have not seen, but which probably contained the same cuts as its predecessor. That possesses one cut of the Annunciation which has not

occurred in any other known book, and seems to be the work of some local woodcutter. It is distinguished by the absence of all fine light touches or thin fringe-lines. All the outlines and shade hatchings are rather open, but individually they are thick. The short hatchings are scattered about with some aim at variety. The edges of all the lines are soft, and the whole cut has rather a light appearance. It does not look new, and the style is that of some years back. On the whole, it is not improbable that it may have been by the same hand as the preceding device, and made about the same time. At all events, it belongs to the same school; and it seems only natural to suppose that it was a second-hand cut—being, as it is, in company with other second-hand cuts and a second-hand fount of type.

A series of six octavos, or rather a portion of some larger series, is found in certain books printed at Janszoen's second press. These must be referred back to the same woodcutter as the 16mo Annunciation. They afford us a somewhat better opportunity of observing the style of his work. He seems always to have cut in a light, open manner, leaving little of the original surface of the block standing. His work is always in lines, supported here and there by a few dots or short hatchings scattered vaguely about. The design is generally rude, and describable as sketchy; the figures are badly proportioned, the limbs wanting in definite shape, and the extremities very feeble. The drapery, on the other hand, is usually well handled, and hangs in folds not ungracefully arranged. The attitudes are sometimes natural, but more often they are stiff and wooden, or, worse than that, flabby. The hair as a rule is heavy, like a mass of badly carved stone; but now and then—as in the cut of Christ bearing his Cross—it is better managed, and arranged with a certain amount of care and success. Some of the faces are characteristic, that of a man standing at the foot of the steps in the *Ecce Homo* particularly so, in a coarse fashion. The head of the Blessed Virgin is in one instance very simple and pleasing. One of the soldiers who holds Our Lord as He stands before Herod is noticeable because there is no outline properly so called, to his head at all: it is simply relieved

in white against the shadow under the doorway behind—an entirely right method, be it observed, and in this instance eminently successful. The cut representing the Image of Pity differs somewhat from the rest, but seems to be linked with them by the style in which the head is rendered. In the shade hatchings there is a more frequent use of comb-lines with long pointed spikes, and they are also found within the tomb behind.

It seems hardly possible to avoid referring to this hand the little side piece of two dogs, and the two 16mo borders, in the bottom of one of which are two men fighting, and of the other a bird among leaves. All three are found together in the *Leven ons Heren* of 1498, and the borders occur in several other books.

To this hand, after considerable hesitation, I must refer the careful little cut of the Mater Dolorosa, which occurs, seemingly for the first time, in the *Leven O. L. Vrouwen* of 1500. The figure of the Virgin with her hand raised is copied from Leeu's cut in the *Seven Sorrows* of 1492, or else from some other copy of the miraculous painting attributed to St Luke. Its origin is plainly different from that of any of the other sets of cuts used at Leyden, except those just described. On the other hand, the nature of the lines with which it is drawn, more especially of those which indicate the pattern on the hanging introduced behind, is so like that of the lines in the early series, that I was led to place the two side by side, in order to examine them more closely together. There is in both the same softness of edge, as compared with the more usual sharpness, the same rounding of the lines, the same trick in the draperies for indicating folds with lines bent at the end; there are the same fine dots and short hatchings scattered about; and, finally, the drawing of the hands in both cases presents a striking similarity. The eyes are rendered in both by the same arrangement of lines; the hair, unfortunately, owing to the arrangement of the Virgin's hood, cannot be called in to aid in settling the question. By the nature of the case the date of this cut cannot well be before 1492, though from its style one would certainly have considered it earlier. There are so many signs of vitality in the work of the octavo cuts as

to make it not at all impossible that the same workman may have produced the block from which this was printed after a certain amount of further practice. It will, however, be almost necessary to assume that he made, in the meantime, a considerable number of cuts which have not come down to us.

CHAPTER V.

FOREIGN WOODCUTS USED BY LEEU AND OTHERS.

(1485, 1491.)

15. Augsburg Woodcuts used by Leeu (1485). 16. French Woodcuts used by Leeu and others (1491).

Sect. 15. *Augsburg Woodcuts used by Leeu* (1485).

We have now passed shortly in review the woodcutters employed by Gerard Leeu and the pupils or imitators of the last of them. During the first year after Leeu's arrival at Antwerp he seems only to have used his old cuts in fresh combinations. On 12th Oct. 1485, however, we find him printing a folio edition of Esop's Fables, illustrated with no less than a hundred and ninety-nine woodcuts. These differ in style from any that we meet with elsewhere in Holland. They were in fact printed from a set of blocks produced, it would seem, at Augsburg at a slightly earlier date, for they are found in a less broken condition in an edition of Esop, without name, place, or date attached, but printed in the types of Antony Sorg, who is known to have been working at Augsburg at this time. There is no doubt of the blocks being the same in both cases, for a minute comparison between them was made by Mr Holtrop[1], which showed that the same breakages occurred in both cases, only

[1] Holtrop, *Monuments*, p. 99. Copies of the German edition are in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and the Public Library at Deventer.

that they were larger in the Antwerp edition. It is worthy of notice that there was an earlier German edition (which I saw in the Bibliothèque Nationale) from which the Augsburg cuts were copied. The cuts of Esop's Vision of Diana, Esop beaten, the Treasure trove, the Bishop, the Priest and his Dog, which all occur with Leeu, are not in Sorg's edition, so we are led to conclude that an earlier Augsburg edition than either may have existed which included the whole series.

An analysis of the style of these woodcuts does not fall within our province. A very few remarks must therefore suffice. They are not all the work of the same cutter, but give evidence of the co-operation of at least two, and possibly more. Whilst all are rude, some are much ruder than others. In one set the lines are thin, short and timid. The distance is brought forward by an elaboration of detail. The trees are not conventional, but sketchy studies from real trees, with an attempt to render the foliage in masses and to make it light and living. In this there is some amount of expression of law and vitality, a reaction from the frozen hieroglyphics which had gone before and are noticeable in cuts by the other hand. In these latter the effect, such as it is, is produced by a few bold, thick strokes hacked out as though with hammer and chisel, often not unsuccessfully so far as they go. There is much art-life potentially in them in contrast with those of the north. In the one case we have a rising school, rude, earnest, vigorous; in the other the fading remnants of an energy that had wasted itself in the trivial carving of outlines, and had lost all power in the strangling meshes of a false system. These cuts, therefore, hideous though they be, are of great interest because they stand side by side with the work of a totally different school and enable us to compare the one with the other—the dying schools of the north with the rising schools of the south. Many copies of the editions of Esop printed by Leeu are in existence, so that the comparison may readily be made by any one interested in the subject. It shows with clearness the fact to which I have already more than once referred—that no school of woodcutting, which is to grow and become strong and healthy, will ever be founded upon a method of work, however careful, in pure line.

It must be built upon a method of powerfully, if perhaps rudely, handling the surface of the block in masses, giving free play to the arm of the artist and enabling him to work with all the bold vigour of immediate intention, not with the calculating care which the production of an elaborate tissue of lines involves.

In September 1486 Leeu printed from the same blocks again, and from a few others belonging to the set, but which he had not employed before. Another edition of the book was published by Eckert van Homberch at Delft, in 1498, illustrated by feeble copies of these cuts, in which all their rude force is lost and no grace added instead.

Sect. 16. *French Woodcuts used by Leeu* (1491) *and others.*

It is a remarkable fact that, so soon as the process of woodcutting had become at all general, we find in every country a distinct style, belonging only to it, and differing in the most marked manner from that of the rest. We have already noticed the rude power which marks the German woodcutters. The Italians again are no less different, though the number of cuts produced by them was for various reasons much fewer than by others. In France the art attained considerable perfection at a very early period. All French artists worked in a particular manner with a very marked style. Their productions were more careful and graceful than those of their neighbours on the East. They adopted a different principle, and were led to better results. All French woodcutters left more of the original surface of the block standing. They covered it with white lines formed in furrow with the chisel; and they carved out large spaces of white, but they left very few plain spaces of black and very few thick lines. They broke up their spaces into smaller portions. The shading on draperies was, for example, rendered by rows of white furrows ruled across a black space, and giving rise to the appearance of a row of black lines in the impression.

This system was also tried by Dutch workmen, but never with sufficient care to ensure success. Further, the French devoted the most minute attention to the outlines of features or hands. They admitted no rudeness there; all their profiles are clear-cut and refined. They allowed no clumsiness; they never trusted to luck for expression. Nor are the outlines of drapery neglected; they are clear-cut and gracefully designed. Whenever a line is employed it is finished with care, but the whole strength is not thrown into the lines. The effect arises from a careful arrangement and balance of spaces of shade, and the shade is produced by ruling white furrows across what would otherwise be a black mass. They never waste any room in the block. The background is as much filled up as the middle. Buildings or trees are arranged behind and carefully finished; the foreground is carpeted with flowers and grass, or dotted about with stones. There are no large empty spaces to throw the whole out of balance or to destroy the general effect. There is, in fact, visible evidence of refinement, even though it shows itself rather in the finical working out of details than in bold and yet graceful conceptions. As a rule blocks employed by French printers were rather small; at all events the small blocks were the best. Large blocks were usually broken up into compartments and each compartment was treated as a separate subject. The main wish of the woodcutter was to produce something that would be a pretty thing on a page; the next point was that it should represent a certain subject. As a further advance in this system of embellishment it became a general custom to represent each event as seen through a highly ornamented archway. This arrangement enabled the artist to fill the upper part of his block with a graceful complication of carved work, and all the elaborate embellishments which the flamboyant architecture of the day could supply in profusion. It further circumvented the difficulty of treating the sky overhead as anything but an expanse of featureless white. By these and similar expedients the whole block was filled with details more or less pleasing, a large amount of the original surface of the wood was left intact, and the risk of the carved work breaking in the press was considerably reduced.

There can be no doubt that the idea of illustrating printed books in a rich manner was taken from the highly ornate manuscripts of the day. These were not only embellished with numerous miniatures, but the borders of their pages were surrounded with an interlacing tracery of lines, or with wreathed tendrils and flowers mingled with various grotesques, which not only left no space unadorned, but gave play to the luxurious fancy of the illuminator and afforded an excellent playground for the development of more advanced powers. These borders were naturally amongst the things which the woodcutter soon learned to imitate. The new art of printing was more especially applied to the production of numerous works of devotion, for which the tendency of the day gave a large demand. It became the rule to make them as pretty as possible, surrounding every page with a fantastic border, and introducing at suitable points a cut illustrative of some fitting subject from Sacred History or the Legends of the Saints. Many sets of borders and accompanying cuts were therefore produced, all of which bear a family likeness. It is a remarkable fact, considering the evident superiority which they possessed, that so few of these French sets ever found their way into the possession of printers in neighbouring countries[1]. So far as we know, this happened only twice or three times, and the best known example is the series constantly employed by Gerard Leeu in the later years of his life.

It consisted of sixteen borders suited to the octavo page, fourteen octavo cuts representing events from the Sacred History and devotional subjects, and twenty-one 32mo cuts of Saints. The whole series was obviously intended to illustrate a *Ghetidenboec*, and was, as we know, used from time to time for that purpose. The first appearance of any of them, to which we can with certainty point, is an edition of *B. Bernardus Souter*, printed by Leeu on 8th Oct. 1491. Each page of this book is surrounded by one of the borders, but only one of

[1] A portion of a border, by a French woodcutter, used by Eckert van Homberch will be found mentioned in the Catalogue. A set of borders and cuts in the French style were used by the Collatie Broeders at Gouda and are described in connexion with the work of the Fourth Gouda Cutter (Sect. 27).

the octavo cuts is used. It seems probable that some edition of the *Duytsche getiden*, containing all the cuts and borders, preceded this. No specimen of it has been preserved, however, unless a volume, which has lost the last few leaves and with them the imprint, preserved in the Cambridge University Library, and presenting all the characteristics of a production of this press, be the book we want. On three other occasions we find either the borders, or a cut or two, used by the same printer, showing that the set remained in his possession till his death.

When Leeu's materials were dispersed this portion of them passed to his successor at Antwerp, A. van Liesveldt. We know of at least nine books printed by him in which the cuts occur in greater or less number; and three times, at any rate, he employed the whole set in its right arrangement. After the close of the century, so far as I know, it disappeared, and we never meet with it again.

From what French woodcutter the set came I have been unable to discover; but that the cuts were French there is no doubt. They differ in all respects from any blocks previously produced in the Low Countries; and not only so, but they attain a level of excellence which was only occasionally reached even in France. Their appearance at Antwerp seems to have set a fashion, and the style-stream of woodcutting was turned in a new direction. Their popularity is proved by the fact that they were almost immediately copied—with signal ill success, it is true—by no less than four different workmen. Had the artists of Holland copied not only the manner of treatment of the subjects, but also the careful handling of the tool which the French cutter showed them, they might have taken a new departure and attained to higher excellence. But by this time all the early traditional attention to detail was gone, and its place had been taken by an abominable carelessness, which desired to produce effects without troubling about means.

CHAPTER VI.

ZWOLLE.

(1484—1500.)

17. The First Zwolle Woodcutter (1484—1491). 18. The Second Zwolle Woodcutter (1487—1493). 19. Miscellaneous cuts used at Zwolle (1491—1500).

Sect. 17. *The first Zwolle Woodcutter* (1484—1491).

On the 26 May 1484 Peter van Os printed a Dutch edition of the *Gesta Romanorum.* The cuts with which this was illustrated were those already more than once used by Gerard Leeu. The devices, however, at the end of the book offer us the first indication of the existence of a woodcutter in the neighbourhood of Zwolle. The small device merely represents two shields arranged in the conventional manner adopted by Gerard Leeu, from whom Peter Van Os obtained the fount of type of which he commenced the use with this book. The larger one is more remarkable. It shows an angel kneeling in a niche and holding the shield of the town. The workmanship is coarse in both cases, and gives the idea of a vigorous hand. The outlines are thick and wanting in grace, but the general arrangement is harmonious and the effect good. The shading is treated by means of white lines, or rather spaces of varying form, dug in the masses of wood. The whole is blocked out and handled in the mass. There is no trace of a finical hand, but everything seems to point to one disciplined, and rebellious

only against wrong restraint. The characteristics of this workman's style can be better illustrated from some of his more important works.

In the next book from this press, a few months later, we meet with a large folio cut representing St Bernard's vision of the Madonna, and treated with a pleasing vigour. The group is seen through a window. The Saint stands on the left with his pastoral staff, looking at the Blessed Virgin. She is holding the child, who stands naked on a cushion upon the window-sill. By him lies an open book, and a flower pot is in the right corner. The child presents St Bernard with a flower which he seems to have plucked from the plant. The words *monstra te esse matrem* are printed in front of the mouth of the Saint. The Mother answers his prayer in the legendary manner. Behind is a rich hanging of some heavy material. The walls and buildings of a town appear through an open window on the left. No room is wasted, the whole block being well filled. The style of the design strongly recalls that of the School of engravers of North Holland. Nor is this only the case in the balance and general design, but the faces present the characteristic traits of the Master who signs himself Zwoll' (*Zwollensis*). The Blessed Virgin's face has the same high pointed forehead, and her hair is rolled back in the same manner, and then allowed to fall within her cloak. The head of the Child is covered with little dots to indicate short hair, and his figure is that of the same meagre bony infant that we meet with elsewhere.

There is further some indication in the handling of his materials that the Artist was not unacquainted with the methods of engraving. His attention seems to have been much more directed to that part of the block which he cut away than to what he left standing. The graceful arrangement of the hair of the Virgin lies, not in the curve of the black lines, but in the form of the white spaces. The effect of shadow on St Bernard's robe is produced by digging out little spaces of white from the black mass, not by a number of more or less parallel lines of varying length. Indeed, properly speak-

ing, there is not a black *line* in the whole cut. There are black *spaces* of varying length and thickness, but no evenly laid line of regular form and ordered curvature. The space of black between the legs of the child, covered as it is with white dots, will mark this difference very clearly for us. The patch of dark is relieved, but the relief is not obtained by a transformation into a system of lines. There are numberless other indications of a like character, in themselves not worth description, but readily noticeable when the cut itself is under the eye.

It must not be forgotten that there is a well-known plate by the Master *Zwollensis* representing the same subject, and treated in a similar manner. The resemblance between the two is in many respects very striking, and has not passed without notice[1]. The conclusions to which the foregoing indications seem to lead is that we have in these cuts the work of a man, unaccustomed to woodcutting, and starting with preconceived ideas borrowed from engraving, in themselves right, but at variance with the taste of the day; and that he belonged to the School of Zwolle but probably was not the master of it.

Moses receiving the Tables of Stone, an important folio-cut by the same hand, occurs in the *Sielentroest*, printed in the following year (1485). It presents certain noticeable points of difference, showing the direction towards which the workman's style was tending. It is ruder, wanting in care, and badly designed. It is unbalanced, and presents large spaces unutilized. The Most High appears above on the right of the cut; Moses kneels on the left, on the hill side, with the Tables in his hand. In the distance, on both sides of the hill top, a far-reaching flat country is seen. Four of the Children of Israel are dancing in front round the golden image of the Calf, which stands on the top of a pillar. The hill is shockingly rendered. Its outline is formed by a band of black, nearly one inch in breadth, and dug into with short white lines. Below this the white hill slope is only broken up here and there by a rudely designed flower, and another black hill side fills up the left

[1] Renouvier, *Histoire de la Gravure*, p. 172.

part of the foreground. The dancing figures are not without animation, but their drapery is very rude. The only good part is the head of the Most High; the hair is finely laid with few strokes, the face is beneficent, and the gesture of blessing natural and easy. The figure of Moses is not well done; his head is as bad as can be. His robes are rude and coarse, without grace of line or care of arrangement either in the spaces of black or white. The whole looks as though it had been hacked out with a blunt knife.

The quarto-cut of St Luke, found in the Epistles and Gospels of 1487, is a rude but well meant work. The Saint is seated writing within a room. The cutter is enabled once more to leave much of the flat surface of the block standing, and to work in white spaces. In his manner of dealing with the head and horns of the Ox he shows right intention. The drapery of the Evangelist, though somewhat angular, is well laid in its masses. The uniform shade in the room gives, by contrast, a look of light and air to the bit of landscape, with its not unnatural tree, seen through the door on the right.

Along with this must go two more quarto-cuts—copies from the same subjects as Leeu's series of sixty-eight. Comparing them with the originals, the differences between the two cutters in the mere handling of their tools are very evident. Leeu's man uses spiky comb-lines almost entirely; the other supports his main outlines with hatchings longer and fewer, as well as individually thicker; they are generally the same breadth all the way along and end off square. Again, the shading on the horse's neck in one of these cuts is produced by a number of black dots, the result of crossing two series of furrows; and the same is the case with that on his hinder quarters. The expressions of the faces are less naïve and uglier than in Leeu's set. The Zwolle cuts are firmer and blacker, as if they had been made with blunter tools and less feeling.

That these cuts are only parts of a longer series, possibly the work of more than one hand, admits of little doubt. They both occur again in conjunction with several others, in the

following year, in another edition of the same book, printed by Peregrin Barmentloe at the neighbouring town of Hasselt. The whole set I have divided between this cutter and the one who will next come under consideration. They are all copied from a set of designs like those from which Leeu's quartos were taken. These designs may have been impressions from Leeu's blocks, which, considering the close relation that existed between the presses of Peter van Os and Leeu, is not an unlikely assumption; or, on the other hand, they may have been some such set of engravings as I have already referred to, when speaking of the Second Gouda Cutter.

I am not at all satisfied with the division I have attempted to make in this set of cuts. Taking Barmentloe's Epistles and Gospels in hand and turning over the pages, the cuts on the whole present certain general characteristics in common. There is in most the same neglect of line for space, there is little grace or child-like charm, but great strength and firmness. Certain differences are also remarkable. Thus whilst Christ before Pilate is a very exact copy of Leeu's cut, Christ before Caiaphas, before Herod, washing the Disciples' feet, and others are so totally different, though still copied, that it is at first hard to think them the work of the same man. I cannot however separate more than four with any certainty from the rest. They were perhaps experiments in a new style, made afterwards to complete the set. In them the lines are everything, and they are bad. Compare the hair in these and in the bolder cuts. It is a mere tissue of lines. The drapery and flesh outlines are all clear-cut and thin; there are no spaces of black, no thick hatchings on the wall; the whole is merely a very rude pen and ink drawing reproduced. Still, in the beards and the shading of the drapery I find the same style as in the older cuts, the difference being that more wood is now cut away, and the bands of black out of which white spaces were dug are now crossed by rows of broad regular white lines. The legs of the Soldiers holding Christ show the same massive hatchings as before, but now pointed. There is no break between one style and the other. It is

possible that we have here an indication of an attempt on the woodcutter's part to adopt the regular style of cutting in line followed by his contemporaries.

The old style at all events occurs again in its full vigour in the small cut on the title-page of *der Bien boeck* of 1488. It is a narrow head piece of an ornamental character, and represents bees flying about amongst the flowers that grow near their hives. Here everything is of the blackest. The bee-hives and the bees and the flower and leaf outlines are all black, strong, and rude, without a clear line in the whole. The flowers are rendered by flakes of white scooped out of a disc of black, but they are not studied from nature and so their rudeness is not attractive.

The chronological line brings us next to the *Sterfboeck* of 1488. The cuts in this, as is well known, are copied from those in the *Ars Moriendi* Block-book. There are reasons for considering that one edition of the *Biblia Pauperum,* one of the *Canticum canticorum,* and one of the *Ars Moriendi* were printed off from their blocks at one place. The cut-up blocks of the first two appear in the possession of Peter van Os; and it is not therefore surprising to find him producing an imitation of the third. The question arises however whether the *Sterfboeck* cuts are copies, or old blocks reprinted. We know that the cuts from the *Biblia Pauperum,* when printed with ink in a press, present a very different appearance to that produced by the earlier system of rubbing. The lines in the former case lose all their fineness and become broad black streaks. Their edges are no longer sharp but soft and furry, and at first sight it would be quite possible to believe them to be copies also. There is however in the *Sterfboeck* illustrations one rather marked difference, which serves to strengthen the belief that they are new copies; this is the sharpness of the edges of the lines. They are all square cut and apparently fresh. This fact determined, it is not difficult to refer their execution to the woodcutter under consideration. They are careful copies, almost line for line. The originals from which they were taken were, as we know, some of the best work in pure line that has ever been produced. The same general

aim has been followed by the copyist. The outlines are firm and strong, and the shade hatchings are subordinated to them and reduced to little more than dots. The design seems to have been traced, but the tendency to leave as much wood standing as possible is still discoverable. Thus in the Temptation to Despair the outlines are lost in the dark masses, and the figures are brought out in simple spaces of white. Though for the most part carried away by his copying, and cutting lines and spaces as he finds them, the artist still preserves his individuality. Thus the horse in the Temptation to Avarice is excellent; his mane is rendered by a few well-arranged locks, his form is compact and strong, though his hoofs are abnormally large. The hardness of the thick lines, and their sharp edges, cannot fail to be noticed, producing as they do a general hard appearance, and want of breadth. The same blocks were employed once more by Peter Van Os in 1491, in a second edition of the same book.

Further evidence of the activity of this woodcutter is found in two cuts used at the beginning of the year 1490 by P. Barmentloe. They represent St Jerome and St Stephen, and occur in the *Book of St Jerome*. Both are excellent. The attitudes are easy, the expressions pleasing, the draperies well arranged, and the backgrounds pleasantly filled. St Stephen holds the shield of the town of Hasselt in Overyssel, as well as that of the printer, and the cut falls therefore into the class of printer's devices. There is no known instance of the block having been employed by him again.

Another large folio cut appears in both volumes of the *Passionael* printed by Peter van Os in the same year. It represents the martyrdoms of many Saints in different parts of an open country. The original, from which it is a copy, has already been described as the work of the Utrecht woodcutter. So far as the forms and arrangement of the figures go, the copy is sufficiently accurate, but all clearness and grace of line is lost, and rude force is found instead. The lines are uncertain and vary in thickness; they were evidently hacked out rapidly by a clumsy hand, only at home in digging out the flames under St John's caldron of boiling oil, because they could

be rendered by white spaces. The whole is constrained, owing to the maker's desire to deal in masses and yet to copy the lines. He had not force enough to take his stand on his own method and translate everything into that, but he tried instead to combine two opposing styles, and thus brought in unavoidable confusion. Here and there are a few bold shade hatchings, firm and thick, but they are the exception; the whole remains white as a mass, streaked with ugly bars of black.

In the *Sielentroest* of 1491 is an unimportant, but rather nice little octavo cut of the Annunciation which I have assigned to this artist after some hesitation. It was used again at least three times. Whether this was the end of the period of the First Zwolle Woodcutter's activity it is not possible at present to determine. In the year 1502, P. van Os printed a Kalendarium of J. de Monteregio which contained a copy of the cut of the Sun and Moon from the first page of Leeu's *Dialogus*. It seems to be the work of this woodcutter but may well have been already many years old. It is decidedly rude, but does not lack power.

SECT. 18. *The Second Zwolle Woodcutter* (1487—1493).

The Second Zwolle woodcutter is a man about whose work no interest centres. Whilst speaking of the series of quarto cuts made by the preceding workman, occasion was taken to describe roughly the style of four of the series which may be referred to another hand. They were marked as line-work, but the lines are feeble and unfinished, wanting in directness of aim, and failing altogether to produce any good effect.

A set of four quarto cuts are the next that we can refer to the same origin. They represent the Four Last Things, and were probably made to illustrate some edition of a book on that subject which has not come down to us. They are found first in the possession of Barmentloe, and afterwards in that of Peter van Os. The subjects are copied from the cuts in the Four Last Things, printed by Leeu at Gouda, in 1482. As copies they are weak, the simplicity of the originals being lost. The outlines are without grace, the faces possess

little expression, the drapery is angular, and covered besides with many thin, indefinite lines, scattered about like hay before a chance wind. The whole is without harmony, the lines are ugly, and the spaces are sacrificed to them.

In the Zwolle *Vaderboeck* of 1490 a remarkable folio-cut of the Annunciation makes its first appearance. It may possibly be by this woodcutter; but, if so, it is more carefully finished than most of his other productions. In design it is very open, and the subject is treated with more freedom and breadth than was usual at the time. The walls are white, without a detail of line or shade. The floor is wide and little encumbered; the room is empty but for the actors and a bench against the wall. The angel comes, as it were, running from the left, almost in the type of the Cologne School, his robes fluttering from his rapid motion. In his left hand he holds a scroll and he gives the blessing with his right. Behind, a pillar divides an archway through which a glimpse of the next room can be gained, with a bed in it on the right and on the left a view over the town, seen through a window. The execution, though better than that of the cuts we have been noticing, is still far from good. The outlines are clear but weak. Much fine shading is scattered thoughtlessly about in dots and dashes, serving only to confuse the cloak with the robe of the angel, instead of helping to distinguish them from each other. The hair is badly arranged; it is long but not wavy. With all these faults, however, the whole is not unpleasing, but it requires colouring to give it relief and balance.

Two octavo cuts which occur in separate books must clearly be linked together. They represent Christ among the Doctors, and a Pope seated on his Throne. With one of them goes a small, prettily designed border with the symbols of the Evangelists in the corners. These blocks are carved with some care and finish. The lines are firm and well balanced, the shade hatchings short and thick. The figures are not stiff, their attitudes being more or less natural and their grouping well considered.

I have separated the remainder of the octavo series from these two because they present very considerable differences.

They make their first appearance in 1493 and afterwards are frequently used in different combinations. The general style of design in them recalls the school of Zwolle, but they were evidently the work of very indifferent artists. I am not able to separate them into groups, each the work of one cutter, because they are so bad. You never know where to catch a bad artist. He has no style, but is continually trying effects and experiments of one kind and another. These later Zwolle cuts are a conspicuous instance of this changeableness. They are all different, styleless. Each might be the work of a fresh woodcutter. There is no satisfactory classification for them. They are always slipping out through the meshes of any net. I am obliged therefore to class them roughly together. One or two of the octavos are not without redeeming features. The figure of Christ hanging on the Cross between the two thieves is graceful and simple at the same time. In all cases however there is an indefinite blotchiness about the faces, perhaps the printer's fault, destroying the general effect. The jagged or saw edges of the main lines are also unpleasing; they want harmony and subordination. It is a characteristic either of the cutting or the printing that the ink has a tendency to collect in the eyes, and thus to disfigure the faces entirely, reducing the features to blots and streaks.

The last cut which can be arranged as the work of this hand is a quarto *Salvator Mundi*, used at least three times by Tyman and once by Peter van Os. It presents certain points of similarity with the folio Annunciation. The main lines are firm, the shade hatchings being conspicuously subordinated to them and reduced to dots or short thin strokes, tossed about with little arrangement. The eyes are messed in the printing, as in the case of the octavos. The hair however is good. It is laid with right feeling in graceful curls, and spreads over the shoulders in wavy masses.

Sect. 19. *Miscellaneous cuts used at Zwolle* (1491—1500).

Amongst the miscellaneous cuts, which I have been obliged to leave unclassified, are two diagrams intended to assist the memory of the reader. They represent a hand held up, the palm facing, covered with various words, each of which has some portion of the hand to itself. Several designs of the same kind are to be found in books, as well as stray prints, coming from Germany. The cutting is without style.

At different times during and after the year 1495 we meet with a set of octavo cuts with double border lines. More of them are found after the end of the century. They are all by one hand, and seem to be the only blocks from that source made during the period under consideration. Their style is that which marks everywhere in the Low Countries the last years of the 15th century. The outlines are rather straight and firm; the shade hatchings, arranged in bands, are numerous, fine and long. The features are rendered with considerable minuteness by clear lines, the curve of the cheek and chin, for example, being drawn in, as well as the division of the lip. The bands of fine hatchings are the most salient feature. The figures are always misshapen, stumpy, awkward and wooden; the draperies are badly designed; the backgrounds are left empty, the figures being represented as standing in a flat country. The whole set is uninteresting and only so far important as it marks a stage of decay.

A confused cut, representing Saturn and Mars, appears in three undated books printed at the end of the fifteenth century. Mars is on the left in complete armour, holding his sword ready to strike, whilst Saturn stands reaping with his scythe. On the ground between them lies a crab. Behind each figure are seen the projecting rays of a star. These increase the confusion of the design. The execution of the cut is very poor. The lines are undefined and confused, so that it is often hard to tell what they are intended to represent. The principal outlines are thick, and edged with numerous short hatchings, laid without care. The coat of Saturn is shaded with many shapeless dots, scattered about without method. The

faces are hideous and the expressions exaggerated. The ground is left black, flowers and grass being cut on it in the old fashion.

Another device appears at an uncertain date, representing two shields connected by a cord. It seems to have been used both by Peter and Tyman van Os, but the only book in which it occurs that I have seen was by the latter printer. So far as workmanship is concerned it is quite without interest, being perhaps the worst production of the kind we shall come across.

CHAPTER VII.

DELFT.

(1477—1498.)

20. The First Cuts used at Delft (1477—1482). 21. The Second Delft Woodcutter and his School (1480—1498).

Sect. 20. *The First Cuts used at Delft* (1477—1482).

The first book printed at Delft seems to have been the *Bible in duytsche* of 10 Jan. 1477. The printers of it were Jacob van der Meer and Moritz Yemantszoen. It is not illustrated by woodcuts, but contains two devices. One represents the shield of the town of Delft, the other the arms of the two printers connected by a branch. The style of the woodcutting is of course very simple, owing to the nature of the subjects. The limits of the black spaces are rather soft. The second device is not found after 12 Feb. 1480, when Jacob van der Meer began to print alone. In the year 1482 an edition of the *Boec vanden gheboden Gods* was printed, in which three quarto cuts appear. They differ considerably from the devices, and yet I cannot help thinking that they may be by the same hand. The lines are very thick; there are hardly any shade hatchings in the first of them. The faces are devoid of expression, and the hair is thick and ungraceful. In the second cut, that representing a Man kneeling at Confession, shade hatchings do occur; they are thick, and lie closely side by side. The face of the Priest is not unpleasing. The floors are

paved with black and white stones; in the upper part of each cut is a scroll, and elsewhere there are others bearing printed legends. The softness of the edges of the lines easily distinguishes these cuts from those which follow. This feature is further emphasised by the light tone of the ink, which does not adhere very well to the block. The general effect is good. The draperies, taken as a whole, are not without grace, nor are the attitudes unnatural. Simplicity has evidently been the aim of the woodcutter, forced upon him no doubt by his inexperience.

SECT. 21. *The Second Delft Woodcutter and his School* (1480—1498).

Jacob van der Meer began to print alone on 12 Feb. 1480. The first book published by him was the *Duytsche souter*. At the end of this is a new device, the double one being no longer appropriate. It represents a lion holding two shields, the one of the town of Delft and the other bearing the arms of the printer. This cut seems like really good work. The lines are clear and simple, after the manner of the cutters of this period, carefully drawn and evenly laid. The conventional hair, fringing the lion's mane, is judiciously curled. The face is such as befits a grotesque of the kind, the mouth gaping, the tongue out, the eyes staring and the hair standing on end. If this cut was the work of the man whose productions we shall now consider he must have degenerated very fast, for we have in it an example of very careful work in clear line, whereas most of his cuts are known by their carelessness and hurry. He was such a prolific workman that he never allowed himself time to get his hand under control, and so it took its own way and controlled him.

The next example of his work that we meet with is in the *Seven Wise Men* of 1483. The cuts in this book are copied from those described as the work of the First Gouda Cutter, which appeared three years earlier. They are executed with some care and definite understanding of the form of features and cheeks as well as wrinkles. There is in the faces, especially in those of the old men, a good deal of

character; the gestures too are natural and expressive. On the other hand the hair is horrible. Now and then a chance lock is not so bad as the rest, and thereby makes the general badness all the more evident. The main outlines of the draperies, though angular, are fairly arranged and carefully cut; but the shading is dull and mechanical, without gradation or relief in the masses. Every shade-line is the same thickness as its neighbour, and all are separated by about an equal distance. The figures are not badly grouped, as, for example, in the last cut, which represents the young Prince delivering an oration before his father the Emperor 'Dyocletian.' The young man stands in front; he enforces his remarks by the gesture of his fingers, applying the first finger of the left hand to the thumb of the right. The king is seated on a rude throne under a flat canopy on the right of the cut; he holds his sceptre in his right hand, and extends the left in a very natural manner to signify his agreement with what the Prince is saying. The Empress is standing behind. Five of the Seven Wise Men can be counted in the background, all with rude hair, but easily recognisable by the number of wrinkles, for which their wisdom, or perhaps their age, must answer.

The next book containing cuts is the *Boec van den scaeckspul*, or Game of Chess Moralised. It contains thirteen new and very interesting octavo cuts, evidently made for their places. From the text we learn how in each case the piece ought to be represented. Thus we are told, "The Pawn who stands before the right Elder (Bishop) shall be formed thus—a man having in his right hand a pair of scissors, in his left hand a hatchet or a chopping-knife, under his girdle writing materials[1]," and so forth. The pieces are a King, a Queen, a King's Counsellor, a Knight, and another horseman, the Rook; besides these there are eight pawns who appear to be the following:—A Labourer, a Smith, a Man with Shears, a Man with Scales, an Apothecary, an Innkeeper, a Toll-gatherer and a Messenger. These, it

[1] "Die vinne die voer den rechteren ouden staet sel dus wesen geformeert een man hebbende in syn rechter hant een schere In syn lufter hant een bile of een houmes onder sine gordele een scriptoer" etc.

will be observed, are the figures of the persons represented by the pieces, not those of the pieces themselves. The cuts had a long career, and reappeared, used for quite different purposes, as late as the year 1495. In style they are exactly similar to the other works of this woodcutter, the figures carelessly outlined, the faces frightful, the hair striking for its extraordinary badness.

A folio edition of the *Somme rurael* was published the same year; on its title-page is a half-folio cut, representing a King seated on a throne under a flat canopy. Five old men stand on the left and two more on the right; three others stand with them, but they seem to be younger, and two of them wear feathers in their caps. There can be no doubt that the idea of this cut was taken from the Seven Wise Men. The Seven Masters are easily discoverable. Of the remaining three figures, one is the Prince making his speech and the other two are courtiers or friends of his. Can it be that this is one of a set made to illustrate a folio edition of that story of which no record has come down to us? The style of the work is the same as in the other cuts, only on account of the largeness of the scale it is somewhat bolder, and more of the bad shade hatchings are added.

Two very puzzling prints are the half-folios found in the *Passionael* of 1484, representing the Resurrection and Christ, as *Salvator Mundi*, surrounded by saints. I can hardly persuade myself that they are by this same hand, and yet I do not know to what other woodcutter to give them. They resemble somewhat the work of the Brussels artist, hereafter to be described, but they present also considerable points of difference. In the Seven Wise Men of 1483 a few cross-hatchings may be found, but these cuts show rather an advanced system of crossing lines. In the style of the faces and features, especially of the mouth, there are similarities to the corresponding parts in cuts by the workman at present under consideration. On the other hand the space is more fully occupied than in most of his prints; no room is wasted; much more work has been expended upon the whole in proportion to its size. Hence, though not good cuts, they are not slovenly, as most of this Second Delft

cutter's work is. The shade hatchings present more variety; some are crossed, some curved, and some short, thick and pointed. There are no fringed lines. The hair is laid in locks that have some curl about them. They afford a relief after the dull monotony of those that have just preceded. In the Resurrection the figure of Christ, though not anatomically correct, is still drawn with care and shaded with crude effect. The soldier sleeping by the tomb, with his head and arms resting on his knees, is a characteristic figure. The rocks behind are unnatural, the only thing fairly drawn being a wicket gate, which stands solitary in an open field leading nowhere and enclosing nothing. Presumably it is meant to be on a bridge over a ditch, but the ditch has been forgotten. Both cuts are surrounded by three border-lines fringed with hatchings.

After this we meet with no new cuts till the year 1486, when, in the *Vier uterste*, five quartos appear. These afterwards prove to have been a portion of a larger series, of which fifty-seven different blocks are known to have existed, and possibly there were others whose traces are lost. All of these are copies, more or less exact, from Leeu's set of sixty-eight quartos. We shall find, as we advance, that the Delft press constantly copied Leeu's books, hence it is not impossible that the whole set of cuts may have been copied for some lost edition of the *Devote ghetiden*. This is rendered all the more probable when we remember that these fifty-seven blocks are never used in printing any one book, yet it is almost certain that they must have been made for one. In copying the Leeu series the Delft cutter has not adhered to his originals in detail; it has been enough for him to adhere to the general type. His variations are in some cases rather interesting. The only one I shall notice is in the cut which represents Christ bearing his cross. The second Gouda woodcutter, working in 1482, treats this subject in the old style, but, in 1486, we find an innovation, Christ represented as *falling* under the Cross. This is worthy of notice because it has been said that the change of type was introduced by Martin Schongauer, when he engraved the

large plate which represents this particular incident. If so, this would show that the prints from that plate had made their way into Holland between the years 1482 and 1486. The Delft cutter has treated the head of Our Lord as though it formed part of the cross rather than of his body. This is a further indication that the woodcutter had the engraving before him, for, owing to the elaborate care bestowed on the face of Christ by Schongauer in the plate in question, he has made it, as it were, stand out as something rather separate from the body, to which it does not thoroughly unite. It is this very point which the woodcutter has exaggerated.

It is hardly necessary to speak of the style of execution of this series. Almost all the cuts are abominable. The lines, though bad, are not hesitating, but clear, thick and decided. Many of them are fringed with rows of blunt hatchings, not close and thin, as became the characteristic later on. The heads and bodies are mixed together in such confusion that you often cannot tell which belongs to which. For shade, spots of black are sometimes used instead of short lines, especially in the foreground. Some cuts—the *Ecce Homo*, for example—present a different appearance to the rest, but this is merely due to the workman's freaks. The hair is most striking for its extreme ugliness, the heads resembling flannel-tag mops. The workman's trick for eyes is noticeable—a round black splodge, with two horizontal lines attached by their ends to it, one at the top and one at the bottom, producing the effect of a stone in a sling. As a result, some of the people squint in a most extravagant fashion. One of this set is a good deal better than the rest, as though the woodcutter wished to prove that his work was bad because of his wilful carelessness. It represents the three Maries at the tomb. The Magdalene standing in front is certainly frightful, but her two companions are nicer, their faces being finished with some care. Across the top of the tomb the stone has been drawn, and a small angel kneels upon it. His wings are gracefully closing, his little hands gently joined; his robe is rather too much folded but not unpleasingly so;

the expression of his face is calm. A mountain of very unnatural structure rises on the left, but a more level country stretches away on the other side, and in the distance is a town overlooked by a lofty tower, not unlike the town of Delft itself, as one may see it to-day, looking across the fields from Rijswijk.

On the 1st of March 1487, a new and more ambitious edition of the *Passionael* was published. It was illustrated by a folio cut, a set of octavos representing saints, a set of half-folios depicting incidents in their lives, and a few quartos. The folio represents the two persons in a dialogue, *Scriptura* and *die Mensche;* now these two, under the same guise—a woman seated with a book at a desk, and a man kneeling before her—are found in the similar cut used by Gerard Leeu in his Ludolphus of November of the same year. It is also to be remembered that these are the persons proper for the Ludolphus dialogue. The question therefore arises how the Delft cutter saw Leeu's cut, to make his copy of it, for that Leeu's artist copied a Delft cut I cannot believe. We have many instances of Leeu cuts copied at Delft, amongst them the whole of the rest of the Ludolphus cuts, but none of Delft cuts copied at Antwerp. Most of the cuts reappear in the later editions of the *Passionael* printed at Delft, and in those printed by Eckert van Homberch in the years 1505 and 1516, in the 'House of Delft', after his removal to Antwerp. Some new blocks were made for the edition 1489, to replace others which had been worn out.

The most striking prints in the book are the half-folios. Renouvier states that they were copied from designs furnished by Thierry Bouts and Gerard de St Jean, instancing particularly the Martyrdom of St Erasmus, as presenting the greatest analogy in composition with Bouts' picture of the same subject in the church of St Peter at Louvain. The resemblance is however nothing but a general similarity of type, whilst the differences in style of design are visible and striking. The grossnesses, the frightful figures, the bad grouping, the draperies without grace, the backgrounds filled up without any regard to effect, the whole series of

designs, base, vulgar and ignorant—one would have thought that these were indications enough that they were not produced with the cooperation of the careful, hardworking, quiet, methodical painter of Louvain. The most characteristic of the half-folios is that representing St Anthony carried into the air and tormented by demons. It is almost impossible to make anything out of it, the whole is such a confused jumble. The robes of the saint are mixed up with the devils, and they again with each other and with the background, so that you can never tell where one ends and another begins. In the front on the left is a tree remarkable for its careless rudeness, and along the front are some plants drawn almost anyhow. The face of a rock on the left is shaded by a set of white lines, crossing another set, and thus producing a crowd of little square black spots, which give rise to the worst conceivable effect. This is only one amongst many instances of the hurry with which the woodcutter must have worked, and sufficiently accounts for the badness of his productions. The cut in question is perhaps the worst of the series; a better one represents the consecration of a church. The building itself is of the plainest, so far as one can see; but very little of it can be seen, except the floor and an altar in front of a dead wall. The Bishop and his assistants who stand in the centre—he leaning on his staff and one of them holding the book before him—form a group which is more natural than usual; the average is however drawn down to the usual level by the ugliness of the lookers-on on each side.

Amongst the octavo cuts there are a variety of minor styles discoverable, but all link themselves together and come from one workshop. One of the most pleasing, which occurs again and again, represents a Bishop holding a book. He stands in an open country, with his pastoral staff in his left hand, and wearing his mitre and robes. His face, though plainly outlined, has a benignant expression; his position is quiet and unconstrained. When simply but carefully coloured the figure as a whole produces a pleasing effect. The style of the lines on the face is a link with the other work of this cutter, though the shade hatchings

are more careful and not so numerous as usual. In a different style to this is the block carved with the image of St John the Evangelist. At first sight it seems to be the work of a new hand. The saint is represented in the usual manner, holding a chalice from which he exorcises a serpent. He stands on a pavement of alternate black and white squares. His face is rounded and without shade lines, his hair more divided into locks than usual and frizzing out round the neck in the manner common in pictures of him. The drapery is simply outlined with careful lines, and a narrow band of shade hatchings, few and fine, is added here and there. The features are not rudely drawn but vaguely and undecidedly, and the hair, though more expanded, is without suppleness or grace. This cut is an example of a short series of the kind which I think must have been the work of some apprentice; but it is not easy to separate them all from the rest, so I have thought it better to leave them together.

We know that at the Haarlem press a border was constantly employed to surround the device, whenever it was printed in a folio book. In imitation of this the Delft printer made a similar border—similar, that is, in design and handling, though different in form, it having only three sides and being in one piece. It was one of the best things made by this woodcutter. Tendrils were arranged turning about all round, little figures of men and beasts were dotted amongst the leaves, and stars were introduced to fill up the smaller spaces. There is no crowding observable, yet at the same time there is no waste room. The general effect of the whole is good, though the details are often rudely and indefinitely cut; it is not that the tendrils and leaves are accurately drawn nor that the flowers are studied from nature, but simply that there are fewer careless lines, fewer rows of stupid shade hatchings, less that positively repels.

In the second volume of the *Passionael*—the *Somerstuc*—some cuts show still further progress. Amongst the most pleasing is one which occurs frequently. It represents a little nun standing to the left on a tesselated pavement. She holds a book in her right hand, her head is covered

with a simple hood which falls gracefully over her shoulders, whilst her cloak hangs in quiet folds and is gathered up under the arm. Her face is pretty, the features being refined, the mouth small and the eye clear. The cut is without background. Another similar one represents a monk, and also occurs in this edition. In both cases the shade hatchings are few and slight. Turning to the chapter which contains the legend of SS. Cornelius and Cyprian, we find a strong contrast in the print of a Pope holding a horn. Here the system of shading has been carried to an extreme, so that all his robes are covered with bands of parallel hatchings. In the case of St Roch this is even more noticeable, the inside of his cloak being ruled with long even lines of shade. This cut however is more carefully executed than many, the positions being easy and the shade hatchings in some places well introduced. The Saint stands on the left with a staff in his right hand; he is in the act of drawing his cloak away from his leg and disclosing the plague spot on his thigh which an angel anoints. A dog, holding a ring in his mouth, lies at the Saint's feet. A tendency is observable here to cover every part with a tissue of black lines, unless some reason occurs for not doing so. Thus the normal tint is not white but shaded. By this means the limbs are better rounded than before. The angel's cloak falls in an effective sweep, which suggests that it is composed of some heavy material. His hair is carefully drawn and has a certain flow about it; it is confined by a narrow fillet, which bears above the middle of the forehead a jewel surmounted by a cross, in the regular Van Eyck style. The saint is not at all so carefully cut. His features are dull and fixed, his hair straight, and the folds of his robe uncared for. The dog is a block.

From this time forward the cuts generally fall, in style, between this of St Roch and the St John. The shade hatchings become more numerous, but on the other hand they continue to be arranged in bands, not in spaces; they are made finer and laid closer together. This may be observed in the drapery of St Paul, in one of the octavo cuts. The change, however, is em-

phasised by the definite adoption of fringed lines, which henceforward are constantly employed. There are impressions in this edition from two blocks by a Woodcutter of the Haarlem School; they represent St Jerome and St Anne and have already been referred to.

Two days after the *Passionael* we find another book printed at the same press, the *Leven van Liedwy*. It was illustrated by an octavo cut, in all respects similar to the series of Saints found in the preceding book. When a reprint of this Life was published in 1490 the same cut re-appeared, and with it another copied from it and seemingly by the same hand.

Gerard Leeu had published an edition of Ludolphus' famous Life of Christ as early as the 3rd Nov. 1487. It contained many cuts of all sizes, by various hands and of various dates. These were copied by the Delft woodcutter, and a similar edition of the book appeared at Delft, dated 22 May 1488. We have had occasion to remark on the badness of many of the cuts in Leeu's edition, especially of those probably made to illustrate a folio Bible. The copies are however infinitely worse, and have not one redeeming feature; they are copied in the same style as the quartos already mentioned, only worse. There is no doubt that they are the work of the same hand as before.

About this time Jacob van der Meer must have died. His arms appear for the last time at the end of the *Passionael* of 1487. The press however continued to be worked with the same energy as ever by its new head. On the 2nd Nov. 1488 an edition of the *Dialogus creaturarum* was printed, illustrated with the very blocks so often employed by Gerard Leeu, which must have been specially borrowed for the purpose. This fact shows that the two presses were in amicable relationship with each other. At the end of the book is a new quarto device of a Unicorn holding a blank shield, with the shield of Delft over his head. An octavo device of the same kind—a Unicorn this time holding the shield of Delft—appeared at the end of the *Minnebrief* of 1491. The quarto device was used by Eckert van Homberch at Delft between the years 1498 and 1500. These books, however, must not be referred to

him, but to his predecessor Christian Snellaert. The name of this printer is in fact found, in connexion with the smaller of these two devices, in an edition of the *Kerstenen spiegel*, printed after 1491, and now preserved in the library of Wolfenbüttel. It has been aptly remarked by M. Campbell that the Unicorn, the personification of speed, was naturally suited to be the device of Snellaert (the Swift). His name first appears in 1496.

In this year, 1488, a quarto edition of the *Sterfboeck* was sent forth from this press, illustrated with a set of cuts of the usual number, roughly copied from the illustrations in the *Ars Moriendi* Block-book. There is nothing to show what edition was the immediate original from which these copies were taken, for, indeed, they can only be called copies so far as the general arrangement is concerned. The details are finished according to the woodcutter's own fancy, and, as he was the man we already begin to know, we can imagine what the effect of that will be. The whole grace of the original is lost, the figures are all coarse in outline, the draperies hard and heavy, the hair like bunches of cords. Yet the cuts are not altogether valueless, for they show how complete was the decay which had come over the art, so that woodcutters, even with a first-rate original before them, were unable to produce even a copy that should not be loathsome. So much for freedom in art when the artist is not worthy of it!

A new edition of the *Passionael* was printed in October 1489. It is illustrated with the same cuts as before, only in a few cases the old blocks seem to have been quite worn out and new ones had to be made to take their places. Of these there are in all twenty-eight. They are readily distinguishable from the old set, the backgrounds being more ambitious and filled with a curtain, an archway, a courtyard, or a landscape. The robes are rendered with fringed lines, the hatchings are numerous, thin and close together. They produce a bad effect, the transition from thick black to plain white being too rapid, unless in some degree hidden by superimposed colour. The new cuts are also marked by evidences of hurry; the outlines are faulty, the proportions bad, the positions unnatural,

the backgrounds misdrawn. The cut which occurs most frequently represents a man standing in a niche, holding in his left hand a book and in his right a drawn sword. The ground he stands upon is ruled with crossing white lines which leave squares of black detached. Some of the designs recall in a slight degree the types of the master E. S., especially in the attitude of the feet; the resemblance, however, is only very slight. When Eckert van Homberch printed his edition of the *Passionael* these cuts reappear, with the exception of the two representing St Matthew and the Emperor Charles the Great.

In the *Spieghel des kersten gheloefs*, printed about this time, is a quarto cut by the same woodcutter. It represents a preacher addressing a congregation from a pulpit in church. The building is in false perspective, but nevertheless the effect is not altogether bad. The preacher leans forward quietly and speaks with earnestness. The people are seated attentively on the floor in various attitudes. The crowd is indicated by a multitude of head-tops, no faces being shown except in the front row. The style denotes the later period when many fine hatchings were laid closely together over large spaces.

That a set of 16mo. cuts by this workman did exist we have ample proof, but we never find many of them together, and we have no means of discovering of how many the complete series consisted. The first dated book in which any of them appear is the *O. L. Vrouwen croon* of 29 March 1490. No doubt, however, they were a year or more older than that. So far as they refer to the Life and Passion of Christ they probably formed a single set, and for the present we may group with them the few others that there are. They are no wise remarkable either in design or execution, except for their ugliness. I consider them the worst work of this bad cutter, the smallness of the scale serving to make his rough haste the more visible and the more obnoxious.

An edition of the Seven Wise Men, printed about 1490, contains two new cuts, which are interesting because they are copies of those which made their first appearance in Claes Leeu's edition of the same book in 1489. It will be remembered that the cuts

in the earlier Delft edition, two of which are found here also, were copied from those employed by Leeu at Gouda. This shows how the Delft Press copied Leeu's instead of striking out a line for itself.

No sooner then did Leeu begin to employ cuts made in the French style, as in the years 1491 and 1492, but the Delft cutter attempted to imitate them. He engraved a set of octavo and a set of 16mo. blocks, the former copied from Leeu's French cuts, the latter made in the same style only, there being no French 16mos. in Holland for him to copy. He accordingly took his subjects from Leeu's ordinary 16mo. series, but put each under some sort of ornamented archway, and strove, by increasing the number of his shade hatchings and making them finer, to produce the same effect as the foreign workmen.

It is very interesting to observe how in these early days the rising art of printing immediately begins to show itself as a leveller, tending to infuse into one country the style of another, and permeating with French influence the dried ground of Holland, where the art had died down, but not lost its vitality, and wanted but a little help from without to quicken the life that was in it and set it free to grow and spread. This I believe to have been the after effect of the current of French influence; at first it only destroyed the dying remnants of the old system. Then the ground became free for a newer and healthier system to arise, and incorporate in itself all the strength of the old French method, in which great use was made of spaces of light and careful shade. Thus, through a victory over the materials in which they had to work and over themselves also, the workmen, the new school of artists became capable of working freely because constraint was no longer needful for them. The true method was soon to be perfected, and then the question to be asked of the masters of the craft will be, not, How did you execute your work? but, What did you select to represent? and here again we shall be doomed to disappointment. But this is not our present domain.

The remaining cuts made at Delft during Snellaert's time are of no great importance; they were all by the same hand,

and most were copied from Gerard Leeu's books. In the Seven Sorrows of 1494 are two octavo copies of the miraculous pictures by St Luke, probably taken second-hand from Leeu's cuts in his edition of the book of two years earlier.

What the end of Snellaert was is unknown, but with the year 1497 his name disappears. He was succeeded by Heynrick Eckert van Homberch, who continued the Delft press till the year 1500. The first book published by him was an edition of the Chess-book, on 9th Jan. 1498. It contains a cut, but I have not been able to see any copy of the book, and so cannot say whether it is a new one or not. Already in this year we find his name on the books of the guild of St Luke at Antwerp, but we know of no book printed there by him till the first year of the following century. The second book he printed was the *Boec vanden pelgrim,* in which all the Haarlem cuts reappear. The volume is a quarto, and the blocks evidently fit these pages much more naturally than the folios. On the 27th April 1498, Eckert printed an edition of Æsop's Fables in folio. Following the traditions of his predecessors, he illustrated it with a set of cuts, copied from those which Leeu had more than once employed. These copies, however, seem to have been made to fit a quarto page, and, in order to adapt them to the larger size, a certain number of new side-pieces were employed. There is no need to say much about the style of the cuts. They are careless work by the same cutter as before. They are done without feeling, and lose all the rude power of the originals. The numerous shade lines they introduce are without effect. The figures are out of drawing, the faces without expression, the birds and beasts without life or motion. The landscape lacks any sort of charm; the whole series is a monstrous and abominable disfigurement, without one redeeming feature.

One more cut by this workman is found in the *Leven ons Heren,* printed about 1498. It is an octavo, and represents the three Maries at the tomb of our Lord; it serves well to keep up to the last his reputation for careless workmanship. After this he vanishes, and we right gladly quit him. He is a man very much to be forgotten. Eckert continued printing at Delft till the year 1500. The last book published by him there was

yet another edition of the *Passionael*, in which the old cuts reappear, one or two only being absent, worn out no doubt and very easily dispensed with. In 1501 he started with his old materials at Antwerp, 'in the House of Delft.' The hideous old cuts keep on reappearing, but happily for us in the 16th century, with which we have nothing to do when it does not please us.

CHAPTER VIII.

BRUSSELS AND LOUVAIN.

(1484—1496.)

22. The Brussels Woodcutter (1484—1490). 23. The Second Louvain Woodcutter (1487—1496). 24. The Third Louvain Woodcutter (1490).

Sect. 22. *The Brussels Woodcutter* (1484—1490).

We have dealt so far with woodcutters who seem to have attached themselves to one or another printer and worked almost solely for him. But the man, with whose works we are now to be concerned, is interesting as affording an exception to this rule. He appears to have been resident in a certain locality, the neighbourhood namely of Louvain or Brussels, and to have worked for most of the printers in that district. He was not a workman in any printing office, taking turns at printing and woodcutting; but he was a woodcutter, pure and simple, executing orders for blocks from whatever quarters they came. The first appearance of work by his hand is in 1484, in the Legend of the Emperor and Empress, Henry and Kunigunde, printed at Brussels by the *Fratres communis vitæ in Nazareth.* There are only two woodcuts in this book, but they are remarkable. The first, a square quarto, represents the Emperor and Empress seated on a bench, side by side; the Child Christ stands between them, and holds in each hand a second crown over their crowned heads. The other cut is an ordinary

quarto. It bears a crowned eagle holding the shield of Anthony of Rotenhan, Bishop of Bamberg between the years 1441 and 1460, of which See the Emperor Henry II. was founder. Underneath are four lines of characters cut on the wood, and the whole is surrounded by a double border-line.

The style of these cuts is fortunately very pronounced. The most distinguishing feature about them is that the artist has treated the border-lines as a sort of moulding or frame, casting a shadow, the light falling from above. He has accordingly put a row of shade hatchings of constant thickness, separated from each other by wide spaces, all along under the upper border line and half way down within those on the right and left sides. Their angle of slope alters gradually, to enable them to round the corners without getting in each other's way. The rows of open comb-hatchings are also a main feature in cuts by this workman. He never crowds them together, and seldom employs short pointed lines. In the shading on the draperies, the walls, the seats, in the outlines of locks of hair or of eyes and eyebrows, he leaves plenty of space between line and line and cuts with a bold hand. There is nothing minute about his work. The main outlines are firm and black, well supported by numerous smaller open hatchings. It is owing to these that there is a look of squareness about the whole, as though it was mosaic work, the effect sometimes resembling cross-hatching on a large scale, the whole block being full of these small lines. The second of the two cuts is the best example that we have of the strong hand of the artist, carving out his picture with the fewest lines possible. As his experience increases his work becomes somewhat finer, but he never introduces complication; and, as he never lays his lines close together, there is always an open whiteness about impressions from his blocks.

In 1487 Egidius van der Heerstraten printed at Louvain an edition of Boccaccio's *Liber de claris mulieribus,* illustrated by a series of seventy-five remarkable cuts. They are said[1] to be imitated from those in the edition of the same book printed at Ulm in 1473 by John Zainer. They are clearly of the same

[1] Holtrop, *Monuments*, p. 54.

workmanship as the preceding, somewhat finer indeed so far as the woodcutting is concerned, the outlines being more slender and the shade hatchings fewer, but substantially the same, with the noticeable shadow within the border. The excellence of the nude figures in them, as compared with anything found in other cuts of the period, cannot fail to be remarked. The Eve in the first cut of the set is perhaps one of the best examples. She has not indeed beauty of any very high order, but there is a simple naturalness of form and gesture about her which is exceedingly charming, and all the more so on account of its rarity. Her face is distinctly pretty, and her long hair flows back in rich and graceful locks. The Tree of Knowledge, by which she and her husband stand, cannot be commended as a study from nature; but the idea of the Seven Deadly Sins as its fruits, though by no means a new one, is well adopted and worked out. The little figures of the sinners amongst the leaves are not too prominent, and only disentangle themselves under observation. The expressions on all the faces are good, the man dozing, with his head resting on his hand, particularly so, his drooping features and listless attitude, suggestive not of real fatigue the result of labour, but of laziness and unresisted sloth. The man too with his pot of beer, and the miser with his treasure box are well worked out. There is no waste of lines, those only being introduced which are necessary. The art is only of a low order, but it is careful and, so far as it goes, praiseworthy. Nor must we omit to notice the row of plants growing at the foot of the wall in orderly arrangement, brilliant with flowers in more than usual wealth of bloom. Here the artist lets us see one little glimpse of a noble feeling, when he chooses for the ornaments of Paradise the rose, the thistle and the lily—the first two as representatives of 'the thorns and thistles' which were to be turned by the Fall into the symbols of man's chastisement, and the third for all time alike the memorial of the purity and peace of the past, and the promise of that which should once more be restored. Indeed in the whole range of the woodcuts in the early printed books of the Low Countries, this is almost the only one to which I can point, where the artist seems to have been at all

a thinking man—a man who really had something to say, however little, and who therefore took pains to say it in the best and clearest way he could. For there is here no manner of hurry, every stroke is deliberate, quiet, simple, devoid alike of thoughtless impatience and of rude boldness or dash. There is no crowding, line is laid by line without crossing or interference, and therefore with entirely good effect. The vital error of the whole is that the working is in lines at all, the artist having thought in pen and paper, not in knife and wood. At a later period it might have indicated that the designer and woodcutter were different people, but we have no proof that this was the case at so early a date. The first Zwolle cutter remains as yet the only workman who ever seems to have caught the right method, and he abandoned it in deference to the false taste of his day.

In these Boccaccio cuts there is a great amount of work, though the general effect is so light. Whilst there is no crowding, there is also very little space left unoccupied. The lines being fine do not produce the same dark effect that results from ruder work of a more sketchy character. Each line is rather thin and clear and itself carefully worked out. Thus the outlines of the draperies are often finished with a neat hook, not at all easy to produce in woodcutting, though perfectly natural in engraving, affording thus another indication of the source from which the early woodcutters derived their traditions.

A solitary octavo cut, representing the Nativity of Christ, occurs about this time in Houden's *Carmen de passione.* The book was probably printed by Heerstraten, but the type, or one very closely resembling it, is used at three other presses. The cut is at all events by the hand of the Brussels woodcutter, and presents the characteristics which we have noticed in connexion with his work. It is not improbable that there existed a whole series of octavo cuts by him; but of the small books printed at the presses of Louvain very few have survived, and those only in single copies, often imperfect.

Thus, for example, the *Elegantiarum Compendium,* printed by Ravescot about 1488, exists only in two copies preserved in the libraries at Helmstadt and Prague. I went to the former

town for the purpose of seeing the book, and found, when I had it in my hand, that the page containing the cut was wanting. Fortunately the Prague copy is perfect, and a reproduction of the print is given in Holtrop. It is a 16mo. cut of the Annunciation. The top of it is contained within a rounded arch, the under side of which is shaded in the manner characteristic of this workman. The handling of the materials here is somewhat less careful than in the cuts we have been considering. The block must have been old when the impression was taken, and this no doubt gives prominence to its rudeness. The shade-lines are not distributed with the careful aim at general effect which is so remarkable in the Boccaccio series. The main lines are less even; they are indistinct and often bulging; the draperies, as a result, are very confused, so that it is hard to disentangle them and see which is cloak and which robe. There is at the same time considerable vagueness in the perspective, and the only adjunct which seems at all worthy of praise is the window, the glass and mullions of which are rendered with a few well meant touches. Judging from the reproduction, the face of the angel seems to be devoid of any expression, but the Virgin's may at some time have been not unpleasing. It is quite possible that this may be the work of some pupil; and it is the more likely because, as we shall see, another cut exists—the reverse of this, and from which it was possibly copied.

The date of the block cannot as yet be fixed, but it may belong to the set of 16mo. cuts some of which John of Westfalia uses in 1490. They were no doubt old then, and may, I think, be grouped all together as not later than 1488. The book in which they occur is *Bouxken omme te comme tot der minne Jhesu ende Marien.* It is interesting not only because it is one of the very few octavos printed by John of Westfalia and is known only by a single copy, but also because of the peculiar mixture of cuts which it contains, all of them apparently made for other purposes. There are four cuts by a different hand, to which we shall hereafter recur, and twelve 16mos. of the set under consideration. These, however, though all by the same hand, look as though they were parts of two different series—

two of them being plain oblong blocks surrounded by double border-lines, whilst the remaining ten are rounded off at the top. One of these is an Annunciation similar to that just described, only in the reverse direction; as I have said, it is possible that this may be the original and the other merely a hasty copy. The artist is not nearly so much at home when he is working on a small scale. He cuts his small figures much too large for the space at his command, and cannot manage to crowd his subject in. His style is essentially an open one, so that he is incommoded by a contracted space, and never works at ease in it. One of the two cuts within border-lines, representing St Francis receiving the *stigmata*[1], is identical in design with an octavo by the same hand, but, owing to its smaller dimensions, it is without the figure of Christ which appears in the sky in the latter.

The octavo St Francis occurs in the *Spieghel der kerstenen menschen*, printed by John of Westfalia. A companion cut to this, by the same hand, is the Vision of St Bernard, on the title-page of another edition of the same book, with no printer's name, but probably produced in Louvain. The only copy of this book is preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels, but it was unfortunately mislaid when I was there. Happily the cut is reproduced in Holtrop [MT. 123 (127)]. The book contains others besides which would probably prove of great interest and importance, as tending to elucidate and complete the materials we already possess. The style of these two octavo cuts is in all respects identical, clearly proving them to belong to the same period as the 16mos. In execution they are not so finished as the Boccaccio series, though they are better than might be supposed from Holtrop's reproduction. Both possess a very distinct charm of their own. The face of St Francis is full of expression, and the attitude of his sleeping companion is happily given. Still the outlines are rather meagre and

[1] In the Gallery at Turin is a beautiful Flemish picture of this same subject, which, as M. Hymans has pointed out, is probably one of the two known to have been painted by J. van Eyck. The treatment of the subject by the Northern artist is different to that adopted by Italians from Giotto downwards. The woodcuts of course are more closely connected with the Northern type.

uneven, and the extremities are angular and misshapen. The figures, instead of being relieved against the background by means of the shade-lines, are confused with it; there is about the whole a want of depth. The little village church nestling amongst the trees pleasantly recalls many a pretty view to the memory; and the rendering of the grass at the feet of St Bernard is much more natural than usual in the woodcuts of this period. The attitudes and gestures of the figures are very good; and the draperies are arranged in quiet unexaggerated folds.

We do not come across any more blocks carved by this school of woodcutters for a considerable period; and, when next they occur, they are in quite new hands. Hugo Janszoen, who printed at Leyden, uses three octavos between the year 1497 and the end of the century, differing entirely from those ordinarily produced for his press. This difference was so striking that I immediately set them down to a new hand, but, after making closer acquaintance with the productions of the Louvain artist, I felt no doubt that they must at any rate be referred to some imitator of his style, if not to the man himself. The subjects of the three cuts in question are the Annunciation, *Salvator Mundi*, and the monogram IHS within a round disc, the corners of the block being occupied by the symbols of the Evangelists. How did Louvain cuts ever get to Leyden? They are very far from new. Where were they first used, and for what books? To these and other questions of the kind I am unable to suggest even a possibly correct answer. All three of them are at all events by one and the same hand. They are marked by the same openness in the hatchings, the same squareness in the small spaces, and the same absence of the short pointed lines so common with most Dutch woodcutters, all the short lines being the same thickness throughout. For the rest, none of the three has much grace; they are all simple and careful, and the little monogram cut, as printed in the Hague copy of the *Tractaet van die ewighe wijsheyt*, is a pretty thing on a page. They are all marked by the trick of regarding the border line of the cut as a frame casting a shade, as in the Boccaccio series; and, therefore, the top and the upper part

of the two side-lines are bordered within by fringe hatchings, rather widely separated from each other.

SECT. 23. *The Second Louvain Woodcutter* (about 1487—1496).

There is a noteworthy quarto cut on the title-page of the book containing Petrus de Rivo's answer to Paul of Middelburg, printed by Ravescot in 1488. It represents the author kneeling before the Blessed Virgin and invoking her aid for his work. She stands on a pavement raised above some steps under a pointed arch. In her arms she holds the Child, who turns round and extends his right hand over the author, as he kneels on a step below, on the left of the cut. The latter wears a long cloak, and allows his hat to fall back and hang slung from his shoulders. From his mouth proceeds a scroll with the words *Adsit ad inceptum sancta Maria meum.* The Virgin is crowned and wears her long hair hanging down on her shoulders. Behind her is the end of an apse, with a richly ornamented curtain hanging against the pillars. In the spandril on each side is a shield, the one bearing the arms of Louvain (a fess), the other the mark of the printer (three steps surmounted by a star of six points). The shields are contained within triangular spaces cut into the walls. The design and balance of the whole is praiseworthy. All stiffness is absent and the whole is artfully linked together. The man kneeling in front before the foot of the pillar, covering all its corners, serves to bind together the steps with the arch and curtain behind. Put your hand over him and all the rest falls to pieces. Then, to balance him, the curtain on the right side is shaded and dark, while the curtain on his side is left light; and the same end is still further pursued in the arrangement of the draperies, for, whereas his spreads out on the step, falling forward in the direction of the Virgin, hers again falls away from him. The architectural background is one of the very few in the woodcuts of this period which is not carelessly and wrongly drawn. In this instance it is in fair perspective, and the main arch is almost

symmetrical and even graceful; but the arches of the apse behind are quite wrong. The curtain is pleasantly broken up into three divisions, and its curvature is made the means of introducing some light shade lines, a great relief after the usual monotony of flat hangings. The attitudes of the figures are graceful, especially in the case of the author, with his head thrown back, his hands folded, and his robe falling in simple curves. The unity of the whole is attained by the action of the Mother and Child who both turn towards him.

At the first glance the execution of the cut recalls the style of the Brussels woodcutter, the shade under the mouldings of the archway resembling very closely that which fringes the border lines of his cuts. But a closer inspection reveals differences so marked that we shall be compelled to refer the work to a new artist, the pupil or imitator of the other. His manner is similar to that of the earlier cutter in the careful openness of his work, never confusing line with line but laying each clearly as a separate thing. He attains this clearness and yet he does it in a less simple fashion, using very many more lines and setting them often closely side by side, but leaving between each a distinct space of white and never running one into another. This refers to the shorter hatchings alone. He makes one innovation, not consistent with right principles of woodcutting but natural enough in pen and ink drawing or line engraving; he lays from time to time a whole row of shade hatchings across a long outline, as though they were superimposed upon it. This serves as a distinguishing feature of his work; it is one that constantly recurs. In the gradation and arrangement of spaces of shadow, such for example as the curved parts of the curtain, he seems to find pleasure. His shaded spaces are never flat or monotonous, nor are they mechanically handled. They produce a pleasing effect, without presenting the appearance of much intentional variety. The principal fault in the cut lies in a crudeness of outline which spoils the expression of the faces, and renders the features coarse, and the short hair stiff and bristly. The block as a whole is, however, one of the most careful in design and finish that we shall come across, in these later years.

In the same book are three folio cuts, which, by the crudeness of their execution, serve to show the one we have just noticed to the best advantage. They represent the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection morning. The designs of all three are elaborate, and differ very considerably from the usual northern type. In the first, Christ and the Apostles are seated at a square table; St John does not rest his head on the Master's bosom, but looks, with the others, at him as he raises his hand to bless the bread. The third cut differs in arrangement from the usual Dutch type. Three men lie in front, about the open grave from which Christ has just risen. Two of them give signs of startled terror. An angel seated on the right, on the gravestone, is in the act of blessing. Behind, in the middle, is the open tomb, hollowed out of the rock. Above it stands the risen Christ with the crosier in his left hand, and towards it the three Maries are seen advancing from the left. It will be seen from this description that the design contains more incidents than usual, and connects them together with evident intention. I was led very soon to expect that all three of the cuts were copied from some original of more than usual excellence. For some time I could find no traces of a similar treatment of the subject, till it struck me to compare a photograph of the Resurrection panel from the altar-piece called the Lyversberg Passion, which must have been painted in the Cologne district about the year 1485. The general analogy between the two was at once strikingly evident. The woodcut is certainly not copied from the picture, but the treatment of the subject is in both cases similar, and affords another link between the later Cologne and Netherlands schools. The cuts I believe were copied either from pictures or from engravings of real excellence; and I hope that further investigation may track them to their source. The composition of the groups is good, the faces show traces of character and expression of no mean order, and the distant views of hill and village, with the church spire looking down on the houses, might quite well have formed a pretty background in a carefully finished original.

The excellence of the designs is however marred by the

badness of the woodcutting. The outlines are strong and black, cut with a rude decision. They are sharp and often angular, instead of curved, and sometimes terminate in a hook. The shade which is added is in light fine strokes, with a sprinkling of blunt dots or short dashes cast about in confusion. The short hatchings often lie across the main outlines, as in the case of the quarto cut on the title-page. The walls behind are covered with rows of dashes. These points are characteristic of all three cuts, and seem to indicate that their originals may have been engravings of some kind. The general management of the lines and short hatchings is such that one would think the woodcutter must have gone out of his way to make difficulties for himself, whereas all would be quite natural and right in a line engraving. Not only is the method of handling wrong in principle but it is carelessly carried out. The outlines deviate little from graceful curves, which care would have made them follow, but the deviation is sufficient to destroy all pleasantness of effect. It is hard to believe that these are by the same artist as the title-page cut, and indeed they may be the work of some pupil of his; but, if he had attempted to produce blocks in a hurry, there is no doubt that in style they would be very similar to these. All the technical details are the same in both cases, only the last three cuts are carelessly handled, the first is patiently wrought out. A false method can only be made tolerable as a *tour de force;* once admit the slightest hurry or inattention and nothing but frightful work can be the result.

At the end of the book is a small device, cut quite in the better style. It represents two figures standing side by side and holding shields. That on the left is a Bear with the arms of Louvain, gules a fess argent, printed in colours; on the right is a man with a shield bearing the printer's mark. Here it is rendered by a scroll bearing the name '*Iodouicus rauescot*' interlaced with a triangle, so as to form roughly a 6-pointed star, which we find used as his trade-mark on the title-page. It is impossible not to be struck by the successful handling of the shaggy coat of the bear, the variety of the white spaces, and the absence of stiffness or trick in the execution. The cutting is

very soft. It would almost seem that the face of the man holding the shield is an attempt at a portrait of the printer himself, there being something more of expression in it than we usually find in small figures. The features are not, however, very successful, the eyes being too large, and the artist clearly finding the smallness of the scale somewhat of an impediment to him.

I have dwelt at such length on the points to be noticed in these five cuts that it will not be necessary to pause long over any of the others which have come down to us from the same hand. Across the bottom of a sheet which contains a *Valuer van der munte* of 9 Sept. 1487 is a print with a black background, representing the operations of the coiner. On the right a man blows a pair of bellows which excite the fire under the melting pot; a second shapes the metal into discs, on which a third strikes the device by hammering the die. On the wall of the workshop are the arms of Burgundy. A man and woman enter on the left to buy money which is spread out on a table. On the extreme left is a view of a street with a man selling at a shop window. The figures are not remarkable for great excellence, but they are simple and naïve; the lines are not complex, the shade hatchings are few and orderly; the whole is a pleasing and natural study from real life. The only known copy, preserved at Brussels, is unfortunately a very bad impression.

Four cuts, of no very great importance, illustrate a small quarto volume which has been referred to the press of Ravescot. It is an edition of the famous rhyming Latin poem which commences 'Noctis sub silentio tempore brumali,' and is ascribed to various authors. It describes the vision of a holy hermit. He sees the soul of a dead man, seated on the end of an open grave, talking to the body out of which it has come. Body and soul accuse each other of having been the cause of the man's sins in life. Presently two devils come up

> Ferreos in manibus stimulos gerentes
> Ignemque sulphureum per os emittentes
> Similes ligonibus hii dentes habentes
> Serpentes ex naribus suis proferentes

Aures erant patule sanie fluentes
Et erant in frontibus cornua gerentes
Per extrema cornuum venenum fundentes
Digitorum ungule ut aprorum dentes.

They seize the soul and, notwithstanding its cries, carry it off to the mouth of hell where others joyfully help to drag it in. The first cut is a sort of abstract of the other three, and represents the hermit sleeping at the door of his cell, the various events of his dream going forward around him ; the background is formed by the trees of the forest. The style of the cuts is exactly like that of the folios in Petrus de Rivo. There are in both the same rude black outlines, with their sudden and uncertain bends, the same rows of shade hatchings laid side by side in dull uniformity, the same spaces dotted over with points of black, and the same stiff hair like the bristles of a brush. The attitudes are flabby and unnatural, the nude figures shapeless, the devils alone being forcible in their deformities. It is very remarkable that an age, which had spent its efforts in the attempt to excite feelings of false pity by the representation of human suffering, and to stir up fear of hell by depicting physical agonies, should at last find itself able to depict only what was ghastly or monstrous. The same causes which brought it about that the poet was only forcible when describing devils, in the stanzas above quoted, hedged off also from the meaner painters and other artists of the day all except a restricted area, the pleasures of which were its tortures, its heroes devils, and its god the Prince of Pain.

The image of St Augustine with the symbol of the Holy Trinity is worthy of a passing notice. The work in it is more careful and recalls the first cut in the Petrus de Rivo. The face of the Saint is clearly cut, and his expression pleasingly rendered ; that of God the Father is undignified. The hair in all cases is straight and bristly, but the shade hatchings, though in themselves monotonous, are well arranged in rows. Parts of the Saint's robe are left black, and the shadows are made to lead down to this with a soft gradation.

The cut of the Virgin and St Anne with the Child between them is very much in this style. The design is on the whole

good, the attitudes being natural, the draperies well arranged, and the nude figure of the Child instinct with life and motion. The woodcutting is however feeble. The outlines are coarse and uncertain, growing thicker and thinner in a chance manner. The hair is stiff and badly finished; the short shade hatchings are mechanically added; the lines for the features, though more carefully cut than the rest, are too angular, and produce a hard effect.

SECT. 24. *The Third Louvain Woodcutter* (1490).

Four cuts are found together in John of Westfalia's Legend of St Anne, printed in 1496. They are old, and one is known to have been used in the *Bouxken* of 1490 by the same printer, to which we have already had occasion to refer. It is probable that all four must be about the same age, though they do not form a set. They are all marked by thick border lines. Besides this, they all print very black and soft, producing an unusual effect. This may be some mere printer's accident and nothing peculiar in the blocks themselves, in which case the cuts would probably fall among those of the Second woodcutter. As it is, they must be put into a class by themselves as cognate work. They present almost the appearance of lithographs, with their soft black tones. There are no fine lines in them. The main outlines are coarse as well as thick; the small hatchings are widely separated. Still, the general design is good, and the balance well kept.

A certain number of diagrams are found in some of the Louvain books. All these have been classed together with other diagrams of the period, as it is of course impossible to discover from what hand they come.

CHAPTER IX.

GOUDA, DEVENTER, LEYDEN, AND SCHOONHOVEN (1486—1500).

25. The Third Gouda Woodcutter (1486—1490). 26. Miscellaneous cuts used at Gouda (not before 1486). 27. The Fourth Gouda Woodcutter (1496). 28. Cuts used at Deventer (1487—1493). 29. The First Leyden Woodcutter (1494). 30. The Second Leyden Woodcutter (1498—1500). 31. The First Schoonhoven Woodcutter (1496). 32. The Second Schoonhoven Woodcutter (1498—1500).

SECT. 25. *The Third Gouda Woodcutter* (1486—1490).

BIBLIOGRAPHERS have been enabled during the last few years to identify a considerable number of books as the productions of a press at Gouda previously unknown, worked by a man sometimes named Gotfridus de Os and sometimes Govaert van Ghemen. Certain of these books are illustrated with cuts. The blocks first employed by this printer were borrowed from Gerard Leeu, and have been described in the places they naturally take. It is not till the 13th of Nov. 1486 that we find a cut used which was made expressly for the book in which it occurs. The book is an *Opusculum Grammaticale*, and the cut represents a Master and three Scholars. It bears a striking resemblance to the similar block which Leeu began to use at Antwerp about the same time. Its most observable characteristics are the very black comb-lines which occur in the draperies and the outlines of the limbs, the large spaces of dull

shade, the heaviness of the robes, and the shadow cast by the Professor on his chair, which is intended to give a look of depth to the whole. The block was employed again at this press, and afterwards came, with other materials from the same source, into the possession of Wynkyn de Worde, who used it in an edition of the *Expositio Hymnorum*, printed by him at Westminster in 1499. It appears subsequently at York in the possession of Ursin Mylner in 1516.

In style of execution it is entirely similar to the portion of another print which is the only existing remnant of an edition of the romance of Huon de Bordeaux. This print in itself is no wise remarkable. It represents the three sons of Amon, who have just landed from their ship and are met by a Prince at the gate of his castle. In the distance is the sea and the ship lying by a quay. The peculiar character of the features, and their somewhat sinister expression, mark this as the work of the same hand as the preceding cut. The masses of long shade hatchings, the rendering of the sea, and the style of the figures, whether in the foreground or in the distance, links it also with the more extensive series in the book which must next be described.

This is the romance of Godfrey of Boulogne. An approximation only to its date can be arrived at. The last cut in it is a folio device of striking character. It represents an Elephant advancing towards the right, carrying on his back a castle with soldiers on the battlements. Two banners float above it, the one with the arms of Archduke Maximilian, the other with those of the town of Gouda. Above, on the right and left of the tower, are the puzzling initials G.D., which may stand for GouDa. Referring to this device, Mr Bradshaw says[1]: "Two of the books from his (Gotfridus de Os) press bear the remarkable device of an elephant and castle with the arms of Gouda and the letters G.D. The wood-cuts are different in the two books, but the device is practically the same in both. Mr Holtrop has brought to light[2] an interesting passage from

[1] H. Bradshaw, *A Classified Index of the Fifteenth Century Books in the collection of the late M. J. De Meyer.* London, 1870, 8vo. p. 14.

[2] *Monuments*, p. 80.

the Chronicle of Holland[1], showing that an elephant was led about through several towns in Holland in the year 1484, to the no small gain of its owners. Mr Holtrop adduces this fact merely to show why the elephants in our printer's device, and in the Haarlem *Bartholomeus* printed in 1485, are so much more like real elephants than that in the *Dialogus creaturarum* of 1480 (also printed at Gouda) and the still earlier wood-cuts of the *Speculum humanæ salvationis.* But it seems to me quite possible that, if Govaert van Ghemen was printing in Gouda in 1484, he may have been struck with the *howdah* on the elephant's back and the identity of the word in sound with the name of the town, and so may, from this cause, have been led to adopt the elephant and castle as his device." An Indulgence in the same type is dated 1486, which may well be the date of the book.

The style of the cuts does not differ materially from others by this hand. The shade hatchings are formal, the figures usually wanting in grace as well as animation, and the faces not expressive. Spots of black are used very frequently in masses as an alternative method of producing spaces of shade. Lines fringed with rows of pointed hatchings often occur. Large spaces are covered with rows of gridiron shade-lines, the object of which was to detach the figures from the ground. Drapery is generally hard and heavy, but armour is more successfully handled. Buildings are introduced as a background in most of the cuts, and they are usually shaded with lines of short hatchings laid end to end. The perspective is perhaps better than usual and the effect less confused. The hair when long is well arranged in flowing locks, but when short it is stiff and bristly or else wooden.

An edition of the poem called *Historie van Lantsloet ende Sandrijn* was printed at this press. The three quarto cuts with which it is illustrated show a certain amount of progress. The first is well reproduced in the *Monuments typographiques.* It represents the hero and heroine standing in a garden by a tree. The ground is left black, the details of grass and flowers being cut out of it. The style of the woodcutting is somewhat

[1] *Cronyck van Hollandt.* Antwerp, Seversoen, 1517, fol. leaf 396.

freer, though the design remains stiff. Black comb-lines are used with as strong emphasis as ever, but bands of more open shade are also employed. Spaces filled with dots of various forms occur again, the cutter being evidently pleased with the power of producing a certain variety of texture which was thus within his reach. The outlines of features are more finely cut. The tree in the first cut is handled in a new fashion, some attempt being made to copy nature, by substituting for the shapeless lumps of foliage a kind of damask work of leaves. The shadow introduced amongst the branches is a further effort in the same direction; it affords likewise a link with the ground-shadows in the Godfrey cuts. The series is mainly interesting as evidencing a certain adaptability in the woodcutter, which renders it not unlikely that he made the important set next to be described.

Amongst the books published at Gouda, and attributed to the presses of Gotfridus de Os, the most remarkable is without doubt the *Chevalier délibéré.* The poem was written in the year 1483, but, from the device, we know that it cannot have been printed till after 1484, and probably after 1486. The author was Olivier de La Marche[1], who had enjoyed a high position in the court of Charles the Bold, and was Master of the Household to Mary of Burgundy. The poem is an allegory, in which the Knight, after taking counsel with a hermit named *Entendement*, goes to attack *Messire Accident.* He is beaten, made prisoner and taken to the Palace of Love. *Desir* wishes him to enter, but *Souvenir* prevents him. He afterwards arrives at the country of *Bonne avanture,* where Memory makes him read the epitaphs on the tombs in her burial ground. These are curious as containing the history of the various notable persons whom La Marche had known. The following stanzas will show the style of the descriptions:

Je rencontray en mon chemin
Ung sarcueil de grant artifice
Ou fut le chancellier rollin[2]
Son tiltre qui fut en latin

[1] *Biographie Universelle*, Marche (Olivier de la).

[2] The same that John van Eyck painted in the picture now in the Louvre,

Le monstroit parfait en iustice
Somptueux fut en edifice
Hospitaulx et monstiers fonda
Et puis par debile fina.

La gisoit ung Roi dangleterre
Henry qui fut plain de simplesse
Son escript monstroit a lenquerre
Quil ne fut pas homme de guerre
Ne prince de grant hardiesse
Ne fut de tres royal haultesse
Mais accident a define
Ce noble roy mal fortune.
* * * * *

Deux papes desoubs ung tombeau
Geurent (Gesirent) . felix et Eugene
Ceulx firent ung scisme nouueau
Chacun pour faire son plus beau
Voult estre pape en ung temps mesme
Leglise en eut doleur et paine
Mais debile les mist en terre
Et fist la fin de ceste guerre.

Finally the Knight reaches the Palace of *Atropos,* goddess of Death, to which men are conducted either by *Debile* (natural death) or by *Accident* (violent death). He sees various Princes fighting with one or the other of these powers, but they always have to succumb.

The book is an exceptional one; it was no doubt printed for the author, and the illustrations were probably made under his supervision. In the text he gave minute directions not only about the designs but also about the illumination[1]. It is possible that these directions were intended, in the first instance, for the illuminator of a manuscript, which was afterwards copied by printer and woodcutter; but the cuts in the only known copy of this edition of the book, lately in the possession of the Marquis de Ganay, have been carefully coloured by a skilled hand, in accordance with the author's directions.

For these reasons we may feel sure that the designs for this

Cat. 1875, No. 162. Roger van der Weyden also painted for him the famous altarpiece in the Hospital at Beaune.

[1] Holtrop, *Monuments*, p. 79.

set of blocks were drawn by some accomplished artist; and this accounts for the superiority they show to all others of the period. The woodcutting in them is indeed inferior, but the composition of the subjects is elaborate, and often good. In analysing the work we must distinguish sharply between design and execution, between the style of the copies and the manner of the copying. The figures in the original drawings or miniatures were natural and sometimes elegant; when not meant to be in violent motion they were especially good. The quiet Hermit is always well rendered, but the knights with their swords raised to strike, or riding swiftly against each other lance in rest, are never successful. The horses also are not good except when they are standing still.

In the representation of landscape these cuts are superior to all others of their day. The artist who designed them must have looked at the objects he professed to represent; not that he drew them well, but he really tried to draw the things themselves, instead of setting down hieroglyphs for them. Thus, in the case of trees, he draws branches as well as trunks and clothes them with masses of foliage and even with single leaves here and there. Distant woods are treated in the old style, and serve as a curious contrast to the nearer trees. When Memory guides the Knight back to his home they pass pretty fields and gardens, in which men are binding corn and plucking fruit, a stork is in her nest on the roof of the house, and not far away a clump of trees cast a welcome shade. The artist evidently liked to put in these little incidents; they were events that gave him pleasure to see and therefore to recall.

We have already noticed more than one case where some woodcutter hit upon a new style, which immediately became popular and was imitated by his contemporaries. Thus the earliest school of pure line, represented by the Utrecht and First Gouda cutters, gave way to one more advanced, in which the lines were supported by a large number of fringe hatchings. Again, as soon as Leeu introduced from France his set of *Horae* cuts and borders, most of the leading printers took an early opportunity of obtaining blocks imitated from them. The question then naturally arises: Why did not

this set of illustrations to the *Chevalier délibéré*, superior as they are to all others in the treatment of landscape, produce any similar effect? After their appearance, and notwithstanding the popularity of the book, we still find the old rude or conventional methods in constant use. The reason for this lay, I imagine, in the exceptional character of the volume. It was printed, as we have reason to suppose, for its gifted and aristocratic author, and under his supervision. Probably all the copies came into his hands, and passed through them to a very different class from that which created the demand for devotional or school books. Thus the ordinary purchasers or producers of woodcuts never saw these exceptional prints, and so they did not produce the effect we might have expected. The man too who designed them was probably an artist of merit, and belonged to a different class from the usual draughtsman of woodcut designs. While therefore it was easy for him to produce a drawing such as he himself would have employed as the first draught for a picture or miniature, it was not easy to raise at once to his level the rank and file of printers' workmen who made the woodcut illustrations usually met with.

Turning to the execution of the cuts we find less to praise. The woodcutter was one of the ordinary hands, with little technical skill, and small originality. He made a few innovations, but they were forced on him by the nature of the designs. The main outlines he drew with considerable care. They are few and simple, but badly cut. There is evidence in them of an undisciplined hand spoiling the effect of good designs. Long lines are never the same thickness for far together; they bulge and contract without object. A little attention might have avoided this fault. Limbs and extremities are usually very misshapen; it is in drapery that the treatment is best, especially drapery ornamented by a graceful pattern of lines. The worst parts, however, and those most destructive of general effect, are the bands of shade hatchings, lying side by side, in dull uniformity of thickness and length. If all these spaces were cut away, and the paper left white instead, the whole would be improved. The third cut is perhaps

the worst example of this false system. As we advance towards the end the evil becomes less prominent, and greater variety is introduced. There is throughout a tolerably frequent use of large masses of black for robes and the like, out of which a few details are cut in white. In these cases the effect is always good, and it is a pity the woodcutter did not allow himself to be led on to the right method of dealing with the surface in the mass, which thus came within his reach. He was, I believe, the same man as the cutter of the preceding series, but it is not possible to be certain of this. Differences are certainly more striking than resemblances between them, but they have many points in common. Thus the bands of hatchings (not comb-lines), the treatment of long hair, and the numerous touches on the faces, besides those usually employed to render the features, are points of similarity in both series.

The best cut in the book is a quarto, copied in reverse from the folio device at the end of the Godfrey of Boulogne. It differs, however, from that in certain, not unimportant, particulars. Both are undoubtedly by the same hand, but there is more life about the larger one. The smaller seems to have been squeezed to its present dimensions, the shade on the elephant's flanks being too complicated. The Castle is however different in this case, and seems to have been copied from that used by Leeu on and after June 2, 1486, as the device of his Antwerp press. No stress can be laid on this, but I think there may be some connexion between the two.

Putting all the indications of style together, it seems to me most probable that this series of cuts was by the same woodcutter as the other blocks used by Gotfridus de Os; but it is possible that they were made by a different hand. Their value, at any rate, as characteristic of a change of style, which might have produced a wide effect for good, is not to be overrated. Incidentally, it may be observed, they tend to show how widely the woodcutters were separated, as a class, both from the painters and the illuminators.

Traces, vague and unsatisfactory, of another set of blocks, seemingly by the same hand, are discoverable in a few cuts scattered amongst the illustrations to the *Cronyck van Hollandt*,

printed at Leyden by Seversoen, in 1517. They must have been made while the recollection of the more important set of cuts was fresh in the artist's mind. Some of them are very superior to the rest, the cut representing a skirmish between knights and archers being particularly bad. The trees are handled in the improved manner, and made something like what they are intended to recall. They serve as a link between the styles of the Launcelot and *Chevalier délibéré* cuts. On the other hand, the armed men are more like those in the Godfrey. In the cut which I have called a Reconnoitre the four knights under the wall resemble the figures in La Marche's poem; the folds of the tents and the outlines, clear but not firm, at once connect the two together. I cannot discover any further traces of the lost book.

About the year 1490 Govaert van Ghemen abandoned Holland and went to Copenhagen, to which town he introduced the new art of printing. He began work there on the 20th March 1490. The small octavo *Minnebrief*, printed by him at Leyden, cannot therefore have been executed after the end of the year 1489. Nor can it have been earlier than the beginning of that year, for he printed the *Blaffert* before leaving Gouda, and there are entries in it bearing date 1489. The *Minnebrief* is illustrated with three woodcuts, one being a device. From the fact of Govaert having taken the trouble to make this device, it would seem that he had at the time no immediate intention of starting for Copenhagen. The style of all three cuts, one of which must at any rate have been new, is like that of the Launcelot prints. There is the same use of black in the foregrounds, there are the same comb-lines and the same clear feature outlines. The main lines are sharply cut; but the figures are still rather stiff and the draperies heavy. The device, the arms on the shield, of course, excepted, was copied by the Collacie Broeders, who began to print at Gouda in 1496, a proof that the printer had not been forgotten by his fellow-townsmen.

The materials which Govaert van Ghemen left behind him in Holland were scattered in all directions. Some remained at Gouda, where they reappear with the Collacie Broeders, some

crossed over to England and were used by Wynkyn de Worde, some went to Schiedam to a printer whose name is unknown, and lastly, four octavo cuts, which we have not as yet mentioned, went to Schoonhoven, and were constantly used to illustrate their books by the Canons Regular *in den Hem.* How these four cuts ever wandered there it is not easy to see, but, when we come to the Schoonhoven woodcuts, we shall find that there was a close relation between Schoonhoven and Schiedam, and so it is possible that they came by way of that town. The cuts in question appear in at least eight books between the years 1496 and 1500. They no doubt formed part of some larger series which has been lost. Their style is very simple. The outlines are firm, and supported by short fringes of close sharp shade-hatchings. There are besides even spaces of shade of a characteristic kind. The point however most deserving of consideration, as forming a link between them and (say) the Godfrey de Boulogne cuts, is the treatment of faces. The outline of the nose is often carried up into the forehead and intersects the line of the eyebrows. The lines become complex about the eyes, and give them a hard fixed look. The designs are good, and recall work of an earlier period than 1496.

In the Annunciation, the angel kneels on the left with a sceptre in his right hand. Over his head is a cloud from which rays of glory proceed. In front of these the Dove descends to where the Blessed Virgin sits on the right, with her arms crossed over her breast and a book open on her lap. The floor is paved with oblong stones. Behind, on the right, is a piece of furniture which might equally be an altar or a bed, the step and the flat surface suggesting the former, the curtains the latter. There is no background of wall or door, but all is left plain. The head of the Virgin, with its wavy hair and its pretty features, is well drawn. She bends forward with a gentle smile and listens to the message of the angel. Her attitude is perfectly quiet and natural. There is nothing forced or exaggerated about her, nothing at the same time repulsively rude. The figure of the angel, on the other hand, is badly, though not coarsely, drawn, but the lines of the drapery are too numerous. It is perhaps owing to fringe lines, which have a

tendency to hold the ink and get blotchy, that the draperies look wooden. The general effect, already compromised by the large white spaces which we find left so frequently in the backgrounds, is thus further marred.

Sect. 26. *Miscellaneous cuts used at Gouda* (not before 1486).

Two cuts, included amongst those which I have selected from Severseen's edition of the *Chronicle of Holland*, though ruder than the rest, must have come from the stock of the same printer as the other old blocks in it. They are not by the same hand. One is part of a folio cut, and might be by the cutter of the Launcelot blocks, but the execution of it is bad and hasty. The other, which represents the building of a town, is very crude both in design and execution. The figures are almost shapeless; the features are indicated by spots of black; the perspective is altogether false; the shade hatchings are either blunt, or pointed as chance ordained. Most of the lines are thick and angular; the buildings are shaded with rows of short hatchings placed end to end. They recall a cut which may perhaps be grouped here more fitly than under any other woodcutter.

It occurs in a book which has long been the *crux* of bibliographers—*Die jeeste van Julius Cesar*—a small quarto volume printed in the type of the Launcelot. The subject of the print is the fall of the town of *Belgies*. In the foreground is the camp of the besiegers, which stands within a fence with a wooden gateway; the tents pass away into the distance. The town is behind on the left. Women and children are seen on the right, and a cannon lies near a tent. The cut is not good. The perspective is faulty, the point of sight being, as usual, very high. The outlines are thick, supported on one, and sometimes on both sides by rows of black, wedge-shaped hatchings. The figures of the women and children are drawn without shade; their features are rendered by shapeless dots. The tents are surmounted by balls; there are few shade hatchings about them. The walls

of the town are covered with fine shade in short lines. The foreground is left black, blades of grass being dug out of it in a free style. One soldier only is seen, and the head and leg of another, lying suggestively near the cannon. The town seems absolutely deserted; scaling ladders lean against its walls.

There is in the same book another cut representing the siege of the same town, and presenting certain differences in style. It is surrounded by a double border-line. The foreground is covered with a mass of fine, long shade lines, all of which are the same thickness throughout. There are no thick outlines and no pointed hatchings. All the outlines are clear and on the whole good. Each tent is surmounted by two balls, as in the last, and the people are drawn in simple outline. The perspective is very faulty. The men fighting about the gate form a lively group, and the attitude of the soldier sleeping in his tent in front is indicative of fatigue. The only impression I have seen is a very bad one, and renders it difficult to estimate the style of the woodcutting.

In the same volume are three more quarto cuts by a different hand. They were clearly the work of the woodcutter who made the two cuts which illustrate another book, bound up with this in the unique copy preserved at the Hague. This is the *Komst van Keyser Frederyck te Trier*, a poem describing the interview which took place at Trèves, in 1473, between the Emperor Frederick III. and Charles the Bold. It is without name of printer, place of origin, or date. The types with which it is printed are not found in any other Dutch book, but they bear a strong resemblance to those employed by Koelhoff de Lubeck at Cologne. We have already seen that this printer borrowed cuts from Leeu at Antwerp, and it is not improbable that he had some connexion with him before he left Gouda. Type very similar, if not the same, was taken by Snel[1] to Odensee in Denmark, where he printed before crossing to Stockholm. Bearing in mind that Govaert van Ghemen introduced printing into Denmark, and that he came from

[1] See a reproduction of a portion of a page of one of his books in Ch. Bruun, *Aarsberetninger og Meddelelser fra Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek*. Copenhagen, 8vo. p. 961.

Gouda, it is not unlikely that his success might have led some fellow-workman to follow his example and set up for himself in a new field of action. If we imagine Snel to have come from Gouda we at once see a reason why he should have taken as his own a copy of Leeu's quarto Gouda device. At all events the paper and the style of some of the cuts in both books are the same; and the type in one of them links it with the printer of Launcelot and Sandrijn: so that all the indications of origin which we at present possess refer back to some printer working in connexion with the Gouda presses.

The date of the books is uncertain but, notwithstanding the crudity of the printing, the *Jeeste van Julius Cesar* cannot have been printed before 1486, because in it Maximilian is spoken of as King of the Romans. It is almost useless to hazard a conjecture, but it seems a possible hypothesis that both books were printed by Snel, a former workman in the office of Govaert van Ghemen, after the departure of his master for Denmark and before he set out himself. The whole question must, however, for the present remain in suspense.

The most noticeable of the five cuts in these books still remaining to be described is that which represents Julius Cæsar as Emperor, standing on the orb of the world. He is clothed in armour and holds in his right hand a book and in his left a dagger; a shield hangs from his left arm. Both breast-plate and shield bear imperial eagles. The two cuts in the poem on the Emperor Frederick represent his arrival at the town of Trèves, and the feast given in his honour. The outlines are weak, the shade hatchings thin, numerous and open, laid in lines end to end. They are not pointed, but even in thickness, and blunt at the ends. The cuts in the poem look rather earlier than the others, and recall the style which was in vogue about the year 1484. They are therefore an anachronism to start with. If only they were better we might have some chance with them, but you never know where to take hold of a thoroughly careless workman.

SECT. 27. *The Fourth Gouda Woodcutter* (1496).

There was in the town of Gouda an establishment of the *Fratres domus Collationis Pauli Apostoli*, commonly known as the Collatie-Broeders. After the departure of Govaert van Ghemen from that town, about the year 1489, no other printer, unless perhaps Snel, arose to take his place. A portion of Govaert's materials, however, stayed behind, and with these and some of the type and cuts formerly belonging to G. Leeu the Collatie-Broeders started printing, in the year 1496. The first book which came from their press was the *Getyden van onser liever Vrouwen.* It is rather a large octavo volume, adorned with a set of borders and cuts in the French style. The borders were intended for a smaller page, so a number of corner pieces were made to fill up the gaps which the new arrangement created. These pieces are clearly by a different hand from the rest of the blocks, and prove conclusively that the woodcutter resident at Gouda at the time, probably one of the Brothers, was a different man from the artist who made the French cuts and borders. A more extended examination of the works of French woodcutters may show that these blocks had already been used in France, and were second-hand when they came into possession of the new printers. The types of the subjects and the style of the design resemble those of the French cuts which Leeu brought into notice, and which at this very time were being used by Liesveldt at Antwerp, evidently with success. In execution they fall far behind Leeu's, the resemblances to them being those of a common school.

The outlines are always clearly cut, though badly drawn. The feature outlines are fine, but almost always misshapen, the noses being large and rounded, the eyes too big and black. Features are almost always out of place; they look like a collection made at random from various faces and thrown together as they might chance to fall. The shade lines are fine and not badly massed, but they do not produce a good general effect. The various parts of the body are out of their right proportion, the heads being sometimes too large and at other times too small, and so with the rest. Each subject is seen through an

ornamented archway, but the ornamentation is more elaborate than effective. There are, besides the octavos, some 32mo. cuts of Saints. The figures are relieved in white against a background which would be black were it not for a certain number of white marks, made by punching holes in the surface of the block (*manière criblée*). This supports the theory of French manufacture, for the *criblée* method was common in France, but would have been an innovation on the part of any Dutch woodcutter.

I know of no other book containing these cuts, but the Annunciation, which M. Campbell tells me forms one of the illustrations of the *Spieghel der gracien*, may possibly be a repetition of one of them.

One cut in the *Getydenboec* does not belong to the regular set, and is the work of a Dutch artist. It represents the Mass of St Gregory. We find it in a *Horarium*, printed about the year 1500 by the monks *in den Hem* near Schoonhoven. This is remarkable because it is the only Gouda cut which the Schoonhoven printers seem ever to have used, and it was old, and worse than their own productions, when it came into their hands. We shall do best to group with it the small print of the Confession which appears in the *Devote getijden*, as well as the device found at the end of the same book. The latter is a copy of that used by Govaert van Ghemen at Leyden. All three are clearly by the same hand and in one style. The outlines are of medium thickness and clearly cut, they are, however, angular and without grace of curve. They give to the drapery the look of crumpled paper. They are supported in many instances by shade hatchings which, though broad where they start out of the main line, soon come to a point. They afford a link with other cuts which, I believe, are by the same hand. The faces are characteristically ugly, the features being angular, the noses either sharp or square. Hair is almost always straight and stiff, rendered by lines few and badly arranged. For shading large spaces this cutter frequently uses square dots instead of short strokes. He forms them by crossing two sets of furrows in his wood. They occur not only on flat surfaces but also on draperies.

The Rosary which appears in the *Corte doernen Crone* seems also to be by this hand, but it does not offer many grounds for the foundation of an opinion. It is a cut necessarily in outline and so cannot help us by the treatment of shade. The outlines of the thirty pieces of silver, probably owing to the sharpness of their curve, are rather rude. Longer lines are better cut. The shade hatchings of the Crown of Thorns recall the preceding group of cuts, whilst the clouds, from which the hands proceed in the upper corners of the cut, are treated in a manner which links itself with that of the group to follow. The cut is therefore important as filling a gap, and binding together the works of a single woodcutter.

Returning to the *Kalendarium* of 1496 we meet with two new cuts. The first represents the Blessed Virgin and St John by the Cross. It is contained within a border in one piece, the sides of which are two thin columns, and the top a low arch with tendrils twined about it. In the only copy I have seen the print is so painted that it is hard to discover much about the style of the work. The body of Christ seems to be misshapen, thin and covered with several bands of fine shade hatchings. There is evidence of an attempt to cut the features in all three cases with care, though on so small a scale; but the faces are without expression. Both the standing figures are tall and slim, and the drapery of the Blessed Virgin seems to be arranged with care.

The second cut in the Calendar was clearly the work of the same hand. It represents the Virgin and Child in glory, appearing to a man kneeling in the right-hand corner of the cut. The Child turns round and stretches out his left hand towards him. Above and behind are clouds. The outlines are hastily designed but carefully cut. The faces are not so badly drawn as in the first set but, in almost all the impressions I have seen, they have suffered much from the badness of the printing or the worn-out state of the block. Large spaces of even shade are introduced, in which the lines are fine and laid closely side by side. These appear on the draperies, as well as in the background, and form a contrast to the style of the cuts described above. It is not impossible that they may be the work of a

new hand, but I prefer to consider them the marks of a developing style.

If this is so, we have no difficulty in connecting with the rest the two new quarto cuts which appear in the *Devote getijden* of 1496, as well as a third of the same size, representing the maid Liedwy of Schiedam, which is found on the title page of her Life, printed in the same year. I have mentioned, in the account of the sixty-eight quarto cuts by the Second Gouda Cutter, that, with the exception of two, they were all found in the possession of the Collacie Broeders this year. The places of these two had to be filled by new cuts. All three blocks present the same characteristics of style. The outlines are firm and sometimes thick; solid form is indicated by spaces filled with graduated shade, formed by hatchings laid closely side by side. The hair is not stiff, but broken up into heavy locks, wanting in grace. The features are the worst part of the whole, carelessly yet sharply outlined, and producing only grimace. The figures are generally stiff (that of Liedwy being an exception), and the draperies are heavy and fall in hard crumpled folds. The figure on the cross which Liedwy holds in her hand affords an additional link, so far as style of woodcutting is concerned, with the 16mo. cut of the Blessed Virgin and Child.

The two coats of arms in the *Aflaten van dye broederscap* look like work of some other woodcutter. The lines are clear and firm, the shade is in long, thin lines laid with care. Within both tiaras, forming the crests of the Papal arms, are a quantity of cross hatchings. These and other features seem to me to point to a later date than 1496, to which year the book is ascribed.

An octavo cut is found in the *Historie van den heiligen patriarch Joseph*—an undated book. It seems to be by the author to whom I have referred the 16mo. and 4to. cuts. The Child stands between his parents, holding St Joseph by the hand, and reaching up to the Virgin to present her with a flower. St Joseph holds in his left hand a lily; over the Child's head hovers the Dove, and God the Father appears in the sky above. The clouds with which he is surrounded are similar in

style to those in the other blocks. The top of the Blessed Virgin's head is left white, hair being only indicated by a few dots; the locks begin to be drawn from about the neck downwards. The drapery is less conventional than usual, especially in the case of the Child, the corner of whose robe is jerked up by the movement of his leg. The faces are not without expression nor are the figures without a little grace. They are carefully drawn, and the means at the woodcutter's disposal, in the way of short lines and dots, are employed with variety. The landscape is merely a bit of undulating ground rudely outlined, and there is no distance. As a whole, the block is only moderately successful.

SECT. 28. *Woodcuts used at Deventer* (1487—1493).

a. By Jacobus de Breda (1487—1493).

Richard Paffroet began printing at Deventer in 1477, and worked continuously till 1485. In the following year we find his materials in the possession of Jacob de Breda, who seems to have been the only printer working in the town during the years 1486 and 1487. In August 1488 Paffroet reappears, and the other then seems to have left off work till the end of the next year, when he once more came to the front, and, after 31 Aug. 1489, the two presses were in action simultaneously. Paffroet employed no woodcuts with his first press. It is almost the same with the first press of J. de Breda, for the cuts used by him were two small ornaments of no importance and a quarto of the Last Supper. This, I believe, was the work of one of the Zwolle woodcutters. It is a copy in reverse of the corresponding cut in the Second Gouda Cutter's series of sixty-eight. I saw it at Wolfenbüttel, in the only perfect existing copy of the book in which it occurs, but was unfortunately prevented from comparing it with any other cut with which it might prove to be identical. In style at any rate it is different from all the other Deventer cuts, and closely resembles the Gouda original.

During J. de Breda's period of inaction Paffroet was busy, and this time he used the three remarkable quarto cuts which are described under the works of his woodcutter. On resuming, J. de Breda followed his example, and started with a large quarto cut representing the Mass of St Gregory. He included this in at least nine different books during the years 1490 and 1491, but after that date we see no more of it. In design it is not very good, its perspective being faulty and wanting in balance of masses. The background on the left is blank, whilst behind the altar on the right the wall is heavily shaded with long straight lines. The heads that appear behind, and those of the Saint and his two assistants, are the best parts of the whole. The man kneeling on the right, poor toothless old soul, is really good, but attitudes are weak and squatty, and draperies hard and angular. Shade hatchings are long and even, arranged in bands. Few of the heads have any hair on them, but what little there is is spiky and stiff.

A quarto cut, already much worn, is found in certain undated books, probably belonging to the year 1491. It is a block from some lost edition of the Seven Wise Masters, and represents a Master standing before the King and defending the accused Prince. Over the head of the Master is a vacant scroll, into which the name of each of the Seven could be inserted in rotation. This scroll the printer turns to account by inserting his own name into it, and thus using the cut as a device. In another instance he inserts the name of the author of the book[1]. The king, with his sceptre, is seated on the right under a canopy.

[1] Speaking of this cut Renouvier (*Histoire de la Gravure*, p. 94) has fallen into a peculiar error. He says, "Jacques de Breda, établi à Deventer depuis 1487, voulant marquer ainsi quelques-uns de ses livres, a fait faire une copie de cette figure de Daniël, dans la dernière planche du *Speculum* et, pour qu'on ne s'y trompe pas, a ajouté son nom dans le phylactère supérieur, *Jacobus de Breda*. On rencontre cette marque dans son édition de l'*Art poétique d'Horace* et ailleurs. Croirons-nous, avec M. Sotheby, qu'il était persuadé, en prenant cette figure dans le *Speculum*, qu'elle représentait le portrait de l'imprimeur de ce livre? Nullement; il suffit de voir qu'elle rappelle les figures d'auteurs présentant leur livre au roi, pour s'expliquer cet emprunt. Cependant une autre considération a pu le déterminer, c'est celle de la figure de Daniël qui, dans certaines villes des Pays-Bas, passe pour le patron des imprimeurs, en sa qualité d'interprète des lettres occultes."

The wall in the background is covered over with rows of blunt dots. On the left is an open door, through which a blank white space can be seen. The draperies are outlined with comb-lines, the spikes being thick and pointed. The hair is divided into ribbon-like strips and very badly treated. The drapery is wooden, the perspective false, and the effect of the whole unpleasing. I cannot connect this cut with the works of any other woodcutter. It is thoroughly bad, and might be by anyone. The lines on the faces slightly recall the style of Paffroet's artist.

The cut most characteristic of this press is that of the Signs of the Four Evangelists. The ground is left black. In each corner, within a white medallion, is one of the symbolic figures. Between them, in the centre, are the initials IHS, cut out in white. The remaining spaces of black are relieved by a few ornamental lines. The little figures are not badly cut. Their style does not recall that of any well-known woodcutter. The ox is the least satisfactory. The eagle is better designed, his head thrown well back, his eye keen and piercing, the plumage on his back glossy, and rendered by spaces of white and black of varying form; his legs are powerful and his claws have grip in them. The lion is a conventional beast. The drapery of the angel falls in graceful folds. Each of the four holds a scroll, in which the name of the Evangelist is carved. The same block was employed at least forty-nine times before the end of this century, and was still in use at the commencement of the following. It was copied by Godfrey Back at Antwerp, and by Peter or Tyman de Os at Zwolle, but in neither case with much success. Though not really a device, because it does not bear any indication of the printer's town, it is used by Breda as one, and serves to identify the books which came from his press. Breakages appear in it from time to time, which might be used as helps in fixing the dates of undated books.

b. By Richard Paffroet (1488—1492).

In the case both of J. de Breda and Richard Paffroet their connexion with German printers was closer than with their fellow workmen in Holland. They employ very few cuts, but those which they do use occur again and again. Paffroet seems only to have possessed five blocks of any importance, and they were all the work of the same woodcutter. Two of them are devices, and represent St Lebuin, the apostle of Overyssel and the patron of the town of Deventer. The first, which prints very lightly, is only used during 1488 and 1489; we know however that the discarded block remained for many years in the Deventer printing office, for we find a blank impression from it in an edition of *Antonius Mancinellus*, printed by Albert Paffroet in Nov. 1517. The device which takes its place is somewhat more elaborate and, in details, is certainly more carefully finished. The touch is firm and bold, the outlines strong and well supported. The lines are fringed with thick and long pointed hatchings, better handled than is usually the case. The hair is well arranged in locks of varying form. The positions of the figures are natural and easy. The background, behind the Saint standing under a canopy, is occupied by a curtain adorned with an agreeable pattern, similar to that in the Haarlem artist's folio cut of the *Salvator Mundi*, which Leeu used.

In the third cut the spectator is supposed to be looking down on the lecture-room. The Professor is seated in a large chair, raised above some steps. The back of the chair is ornamented. The Professor holds in his arms a large open book, the binding of which is studded with metal bosses. In front of him, with their backs to the spectator, are five men seated on a bench. The student in the middle is seen from behind, the one next to him on the right wears a pointed hood over his head, all of them seem to be holding open books in their hands, and attentively following the lecture. Their heavy cloaks are naturally designed and laid in simple curves.

This woodcutter is distinguished best by the faces of the men he draws. They are always marked by a careful study of feature. This is specially noticeable in the St Lebuin with a

canopy, where the nose is drawn with more care than we generally meet with, for it is not only rendered by a profile line, but the nostril is carefully outlined and rounded, and thrown into relief by the intentional thickening of the black space under it.

On account of this characteristic I refer to the same artist the cuts of the Young Man with the Professor and the Young Man at a Feast, which occur in Albrecht van Eybe's *Boeck van den Echten Staete*, the same in which some of Leeu's 16mos. are found. In the first the Professor's face is full of character. The wrinkled forehead, the lines under the eyes, the well-shaped space of black which forms the outline of the nose, the lines on the cheek and the double chin, all work together to produce a harmonious result. The figures however are not so good; their proportions are too stumpy; the robes of the Professor are heavy and without grace, and the Young Man's limbs want form and strength. The thick pointed hatchings, which are found in the other cuts, are wanting in both of these, and instead of them we have some sort of attempt to render shade by cutting spaces of white of varied form out of strips of black. The Young Man is one of the upper class, to judge by his somewhat studied costume. He wears his hair in long curls falling from under a small cap with a feather. The Professor is explaining something to him and enforcing his remarks with the customary gestures of the fingers. His companion, it is only fair to add, appears to enjoy the feast much more than the lecture.

Two 16mo. cuts—a Coronation of the Virgin used by Paffroet, and a Supper at Emmaus by Jacob de Breda—may possibly have been the work of this woodcutter. At all events they show certain similarities of style, and correspond exactly in size. The treatment of the hair is alike in both, and there is the same tendency to cut out details in white from a black ground, showing itself in the bricks in the wall of one and the flowers in the foreground of the other. Both give instances of the use of comb lines, and the same general arrangement of drapery.

On the blank leaves at each end of the Brussels copy of Paffroet's *Vita Senecæ*, printed about the year 1500, are at-

tempts to take an impression, by dabbing, of a wood-cut which, so far as I could make out, represented the death of the philosopher. He is seen under a round arch standing, fully robed, in a large shallow basin. His right hand rests in an unconcerned manner in his belt; he wears some sort of crown or head-dress. The cut is without background; the floor in the foreground is tiled. Below it is a wood-cut legend which I could not read. The block seemed to me to be 15th century work of an open character, but the impression is not clear enough to permit any certain judgment to be formed from it.

Sect. 29. *The First Leyden Woodcutter* (1494).

Amongst the blocks used by Janszoen at Leyden a set of 16mos. separate themselves from the rest as the work of some otherwise unknown woodcutter. They occur first in the *Ghetidenboec* of 1494, and remain in use till the end of the century. In some respects they recall the style of work of the Leyden woodcutter, already described (p. 89) as an imitator of the Haarlem school, but I do not think that they can be ascribed to him. A close examination tends rather to widen the breach between them than to bridge it over, so for the present they must be isolated. Their style is crude and almost repulsive. They are heavy and black in opposition to the Haarlem-like octavos which are sketchy and white. The outlines are strong and thick, constantly supported by numerous pointed hatchings. These are thin and long; they have a tendency to get clogged with ink and to lose themselves in a black tangle. The flesh outlines are graceless and ignorant, the faces are without expression and the hair falls in rope-like masses. The drapery is wooden and encumbered by a great many coarse lines. In style these cuts somewhat recall the work of the Second Zwolle cutter. The subjects are arranged in the usual conventional manner, but the groups are without animation or expression. At no time do the blocks print as though they were new, and I cannot but think that we may some day find them previously used elsewhere.

SECT. 30. *The Second Leyden Woodcutter* (1498—1500).

The cuts most generally characteristic of Janszoen's press are a series of octavos. They were used in at least ten different books printed during the closing years of the 15th century, and they appear frequently at the commencement of the following. They are all from one set of designs and executed by one hand, with whose work we have not been brought in contact before. The subjects are the ordinary series of events of the Life and Passion of Christ with a few devotional subjects added. They are readily distinguishable by the two pillars, within which each is enclosed, and the commencement of an arch rising from them but cut off by the top of the block. They possess less variety of handling than any other series of the same length which I have come across. The same quantity of black mechanical shade is found in all, covering the robes with dark bands, formed of thin lines of equal length lying side by side, either independently or attached as a fringe to a thick outline. The folds of the draperies are indicated by strong curved lines, often hooked at the end, and generally supported (sometimes crossed) by such bands of fringe. There is very little grace in any of them. The robes hang heavily, like badly sculptured wood, and are employed not to explain the motions of the figures but to hide them. The faces are never beautiful though sometimes they give indications of character, which would hardly have been expected—but not, as a rule, of the character suitable for the place. Thus, in Christ before Caiaphas —copied by error from the type of Christ before Annas—the High Priest as he rends his clothes wears an almost benevolent smile; on the other hand the face of the soldier holding Christ's right arm is expressive with its strong coarse features. The work as a whole is bad, the figures out of proportion (e.g. Christ entering Jerusalem) and the architectural accessories out of perspective. The hair is always long and straight, and never gives evidence of the smallest attempt to break it up into graceful masses. The shade lines are often numerous, this being the direction in which the development of woodcutting was advancing, the tendency gaining ground to leave more and

more of the original surface of the block standing, but to plough it up into multitudes of fine lines. In many of the cuts, as for example that of the Soul and the Teacher, we find a man introduced wearing a cloak trimmed with a thick fur collar, in the treatment of which the woodcutter seems to have taken a certain delight. But he cuts it unfeelingly with stiff bristly lines end to end and side by side, not in any way adding to the sightliness of the prints. It is indeed impossible to praise him. He had no pleasure in his work and so took no pains with it; he was incapable of conceiving or producing graceful lines, or of massing shade harmoniously.

To him also must be attributed a short octavo cut which constantly makes its unpleasing appearance in books from this press. It is found for the first time in the *Boecxken van onser liever Vrouwen mantel* of 1498. Under a misshapen archway the Blessed Virgin is seen against a background of flames, standing on the crescent Moon and holding the Child in her arms. The black graceless lines of the drapery which she wears, the thick shade hatchings, the patches of shapeless dots, the coarse flesh outlines, the expressionless features, the total want of harmony about the whole—all bespeak the vulgar barbarity in which the art of the fifteenth century perished.

Not less frightful are the second series of 16mos. which appear in the year 1500 in three or more different books. The whole set do not occur together, and it would be necessary to follow them into the following century to discover what was their complete number. In reality they are not 15th century cuts at all. They are still in use twenty years later, and seem to have formed part of the materials with which Doen Pieterszoen began to print at Amsterdam. There can be little doubt that they too were the work of the Second Leyden woodcutter. Their subjects are copied from those of the earlier 16mo. series, and it is not unnatural to conclude that, when those blocks were worn out, these were made to take their place. The handling of the tool is somewhat different from that in most cuts of the early period. They connect themselves more closely in style with the octavo Marriage at Cana than with the rest of its companions. The whole block is occupied by spaces

filled with a mass of fine, close lines, alternating with spaces of absolute blank. The drawing of the hands and features might perhaps be worse but for the rest we seem to have reached about the lowest depth. There is in these prints a dead want of feeling, a complete stagnation that becomes more repulsive the longer they are looked at, and we gladly shut them up and turn back to the works of some ruder but more earnest worker.

SECT. 31. *The First Schoonhoven Woodcutter* (1496).

In the year 1396 attempts were made to found a convent in the *Crimpenrewaard,* in the province of South Holland. The Monastery of St Michael was at last founded in 1407, and occupied by the Brothers *in den Hof* or *in den Hem.* We learn from a MS. note at the end of the copy of the Breviarium Windesemense of 1499, now in the Hague Library, that the situation of the house was "*Inter Islam et Lacam* (the rivers Yssel and Leck) *tüschen Gouda en Schoonhoven.*" In 1414 the brothers joined the order of St Francis; but in the following year Cardinal Nicholas de Cusa, travelling for that purpose, persuaded them to join the order of the Canons Regular of St Augustin. The elements did not leave them at peace; their house was near the river Leck which kept flooding them out, and at last, in 1494, their church was destroyed by fire. To procure money to rebuild it, they set up a printing-press under their Prior Zeger Janszoen of Schoonhoven. They continued printing till the year 1528. The last we hear of them is at the time of the Reformation troubles. On the 6th July 1572 the soldiers of a certain Graaf van Lumey burnt down their house; and convent, church, friars, libraries and all vanished for ever. Their land was afterwards divided and sold [1].

The cuts characteristic of the press are a set of sixteen octavos. Possibly the complete series consisted of a larger number, but these are all that have survived the ravages of

[1] A. J. van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, Gorinchem, 1844, 8vo. Vol. v. p. 411.

time. They are found scattered about in ten different books, all of a devotional character. It may not be uninteresting if we here make a short digression from our ordinary course to notice a method of printing which, though not peculiar to this press, finds its best illustration here. In the Royal Library at the Hague is a *Ghetidenboec,* the bulk of which was printed at Schoonhoven on the 5th Oct. 1496. On the last page of the book is an index to its contents. The index mentions a Calendar, the Hours of the Holy Cross, the Hours of Our Lady, the Vigils of the Nine long Lessons, and many other devout Prayers and Suffrages of Our Lady and the Saints. On a reference to the signatures we find that the quires A, B contain the Calendar; *a*—*h* (interrupted between *d* and *e* by another quire A with the Seven Penitential Psalms, not mentioned in the index) include a Morning Prayer, a Prayer of the Wounds of Christ, the Hours of the Holy Cross, and the Hours of Our Lady. Then follow a new set of quires, signed from A to V, in which are Prayers for each day in the week. The original numbering of the quires is then resumed and those signed *i* to *m* contain miscellaneous prayers and suffrages. The index therefore refers to the group of quires numbered with the small letters, the other quires having been introduced by the binder. But the noticeable fact is that the quires, or sometimes the groups of two or three quires, are complete in themselves. They were printed off in such a manner as to be fit for binding up in different combinations, according to the requirements of the purchaser. This is the more visible in the book in question because it includes in the body of it, bound up in the original binding after the Seven Psalms, six leaves of manuscript with a Litany, and in another part four leaves with the Nine short Lessons: thus showing that there were no printed quires containing these, and that they had to be supplied by the help of a copyist. We must therefore bear in mind, when we meet with books of this character, that the component parts were possibly printed at different dates. The sets of cuts employed by printers who worked in this fashion, would not necessarily be *made for* any particular book, but would be suitable for employment in books of a devotional character.

The Schoonhoven blocks were of this kind. They were of two sizes, both probably made at one time, but were never printed all together in any one book. They were cuts suitable for devotional books in general and employed whenever opportunity occurred. This conclusion is supported by the appearance of the prints themselves. They resemble each other closely both in size and style and evidently resolve themselves into two sets, and two only.

The cut which represents the Crucifixion occurs more frequently than any of the others. The dead body of Christ, with his side pierced, hangs on the Cross in the centre. The Blessed Virgin, seated on the ground with her hands lying powerless in her lap, is supported by St John. He turns his eyes towards the Centurion, who, mounted on a horse with a scroll floating over his head, points with his right hand at Christ and makes his confession of faith. Another man is behind him. A glimpse of a not unnatural landscape is obtained on the left, where trees are figured on the slopes of a hill, and the spire of a church rises above the roofs of some houses at its foot. The most noticeable feature in the design is the animation of the figures. There is in them much less of the fixed wooden look, commonly observable in prints of this period. The raised hand of the Centurion seems to be moving and is not frozen into a passing posture. Still, the figures are ugly—frightfully ugly—there is hardly a nice face or a regular feature in the whole series. The flesh outlines are rude; the only expression comes through exaggeration of grimace.

In the execution of the woodcutting the most prominent features are the shade, of which there is a great deal, and the attempt to render by it the forms of flesh or drapery, without attaching the strokes as a fringe to the outlines. Comb-lines and hacked edges are therefore almost absent, their place being taken by spaces of shade composed of independent lines of varying length, usually not very thin and not crowded together. The intention of all this is right, but the carelessness of the artist in the matter of form destroys the effect of his correct tendencies in dealing with shade.

The best cut of the series is undoubtedly the last—an angel

holding a wreath of roses. His face, though a little crooked, is on the whole carefully drawn. His attitude is natural, his drapery falls in simple folds, his wings are gracefully arranged to fill up the background of the cut. His hair spreads out round his neck in well-arranged curls. He holds before him in both hands a large wreath of roses, almost as big as himself. The cut was made after the rest of the series, to illustrate a chapter in the book in which alone it occurs, headed "About our dear Mother's Psalter and Wreath of Roses, or Rosary, and about its Brotherhood."

A few stray 16mo. cuts, apparently not forming a series, are by the same hand, but they are almost without exception bad. The smallness of the scale was more than the woodcutter could manage, and he produces such a confusion of long hair, thin, angular drapery outlines and shade hatchings, that it is difficult to disentangle the mess and come at his real meaning. The best that can be said for them is that the figures are well balanced, but they are at once distinguished by the long straight hair and the masses of mechanical shade. The best of them is naturally that representing the Child Christ standing amongst flowers, holding in his right hand an orb surmounted by a cross, and blessing with his left. He is naked except for a cloak hanging over his shoulders and blowing almost naturally in the wind. The scale of this, the only figure in the cut, is larger than in the other cases, but the shade lines on the flesh are rude, and produce a terribly wooden appearance. Some of the subjects are represented as seen under a low archway roughly ornamented.

Sect. 32. *The Second Schoonhoven Woodcutter* (1498—1500).

We have evidence of the activity of another woodcutter in connexion with this Schoonhoven printing-press. He made some 16mo. and 8vo. cuts, which occur in books printed during the years 1498 to 1500. Taking the Supper at Emmaus, which is found in the *Leven ons Heren* of 1499, as a good example of his work, we notice a striking difference between his style

and that of the preceding artist. In its way the cut is excellent. The startled expressions of the disciples as they look at each other with awakening understandings, their hands just rising in an attitude of surprise, are well rendered. There is nothing strained or awkward about the whole. The style of the execution is also good, and contrasts with that of the other Schoonhoven cuts. The lines are few and thick, not liable to break in the printing. There is a great deal of wood left standing in masses of shade, which balance each other well and yet are varied in themselves. Each space of white is of a different form from its neighbour. The method of the artist seems to have been first to dig out his main masses of white, then to put in the details of features, hands and so forth, and lastly to go over what larger spaces of the original surface were left standing, gouging out bits with his tool so as to give variety and relief to the whole. The shade on the table-cloth in this cut is worth noticing for the good effect produced by seemingly rude blots of black. The tendency of the artist is towards rudeness, yet even when most hasty, as in the octavo Hades in the same book, he does not lose command over his hand. His design is always evident, his balance good, and the effect of the print is not repulsive either from want of harmony or from false representation of detail. We may say that, as a woodcutter, he is right as far as he goes, his fault being that he sometimes does not go far enough. His cuts do not require to be supplemented by painting, for he understood to some extent what is meant by different qualities of shade and endeavoured to lay stress upon them.

The most remarkable of his blocks is undoubtedly the large quarto representing St Augustine standing under a portico. He holds in his left hand a heart pierced with two arrows, and in his right a pastoral staff. A curtain of ornamented material hangs behind him. In the corners of the cut in the foreground are plants growing outside the building. The careful delineation of the face is the point which first attracts attention. Little less praiseworthy is the handling of the drapery, gathered up into folds about the Saint's arm or lightly resting on the ground at his feet. The lines are not exactly firm, they vary in

thickness from point to point, but they do so with an object, and produce the effect of lightness and softness in the materials represented. The shade hatchings are small spaces of black of altering shape; they lie in rows or masses, and these again are of ever varying form.

Here and there a few points of similarity can be traced between the works of the two Schoonhoven artists. Instance the face of the Cardinal who stands on the left in the octavo cut of the Mass of St Gregory, found in the *Spiegel der volcomenheyt.* This almost looks as though the second artist had been standing by while the other was at work, and had taken up his tool and said, 'This is how I should do it.' The remainder of the cut is so very different. Again, the Angel holding the wreath of roses recalls somewhat the one holding the shields of Schiedam, a cut, as we shall see, by this second workman, but the resemblance is rather in design than in execution.

In the description of the *Chevalier délibéré,* printed by Gotfridus de Os at Gouda, we have already referred to the press worked at Schiedam from about 1498. The materials employed at this press consisted of the fount of type and set of cuts used by Gotfridus de Os for the above book, and a certain number of other cuts which must now be described. They illustrate a Life of the Holy Maid Liedwy of Schiedam[1], printed in 1498 at the anonymous press. Two lives of the Maid had already appeared[2]. The third was a more lengthy biography, written in Latin, at the desire of certain of her friends, by one John Brugman. On the last line of the last page are the words "*Ex Schiedam. Ad sanctam Annam*" between two small woodcut shields, the one representing a pierced heart like that held by St Augustine in the cut previously described, and the other a Lion rampant. There is no doubt that these, as well as all the other cuts in the book, were made by the Second Schoonhoven woodcutter. The expenses of the edition were paid by the masters of the guild of St John the Baptist at Schiedam[3]. That a convent of Augustinian nuns dedicated to St Anne existed at

[1] She was born 30 March 1386, and died 14 April 1433.

[2] F. Van der Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1880, B. 34 and G. 38.

[3] Renouvier, *Histoire de la Gravure*, p. 311.

this time in Schiedam we learn from a Monasticon of South Holland[1]. It is likely that the nuns would be in close connexion with the neighbouring establishment of Canons Regular of St Augustine, and would apply to them for a set of woodcuts for the book which was to be printed. Possibly the liberal burghers, who paid the expenses of the publication, presented the edition to the nuns and allowed them to make what profit they could out of the sale. This explanation accounts for the co-operation of the Schoonhoven artist. Lives of St Liedwy were also printed at Delft and Gouda. In all three the Saint is depicted in a certain conventional manner. I learn from the book already referred to that in the Chapel of St Liedwy, in the Hoofdkerk at Schiedam, was her tomb, richly sculptured, "*waar op de beschrijving van haar leven gesneden stond.*" Is it possible that the image of the Maid was copied from some such original? Possibly too some of the cuts representing events in her life were likewise borrowed from these sculptures.

The first page of the book contains two prints one above another. The upper represents the Saint appearing to her biographer, and is one of the regular series of the book; the lower is a broad, short device. It depicts an angel kneeling and holding two shields. Her right hand rests upon the shield of one of the Counts, whose coat of arms was from time to time used as its own by the town, and is the one always employed at the present day; the other bears three hour-glasses, and was the old shield properly belonging to Schiedam. The cut looks quite new in this book. It reappeared again in the Schiedam edition of the *Chevalier délibéré,* but in a broken condition, thus proving that the date of that book was after 1489.

The nature of the subjects treated in the regular series of cuts will be sufficiently evident from the list given below. I shall confine myself here to a short examination of their style. They differ from all cuts we have yet met with by their intense naturalism. In execution the space-system is adopted. The

[1] H. V. R., *Oudheden en Gestichten van het Rechte Zuid-Holland en van Schieland.* Leyden, 1719, 8vo. p. 507: "In een handschrift van den Utrechtschen Bisschop Joris van Egmond, 't welk onder my berust staat een Konvent, van Augustijner-nonnen vermeld 't welk den naam had van S. Annaas Konvent."

lines should rather be called long narrow *spaces*. They are often bent at sharp angles. They render solid form by their variations in thickness. Generally they do not taper to a point but are cut off square at the end. Fringed lines are seldom employed, lines with saw-edges never. Shaded spaces are rendered by a number of short lines of varying thickness and length, each different in form from its neighbour. The subjects are for the most part but slightly outlined, yet each line tells because it is right so far as it goes. The foregrounds are drawn with a few varied lines indicating the form of the hillocks and suggesting more than they depict. We never meet with those terrible fringed hill outlines or anything of a similar kind, for the artist lived in a flat country and was content to draw that as he saw it, without wasting his time in imagining hills. Neither again do we find conventional grass or flowers; the plants introduced are studied to some extent from the life, and so the prints are intelligible. Shade is distributed with right feeling, the attempt being not so much to render light and shade as local colour. Groups are designed as men would be likely to arrange themselves, not as clumps of lay figures; faces wear animated expressions; attitudes are easy, and gestures quickly changing. The perspective is almost always good, and the bricks which compose the walls are carefully drawn in, rendering unnecessary the monotonous rows of short lines usually employed in these cases.

The most interesting cut of the series is that which represents the Maid falling on the ice. She is seen in the foreground raised by two women. She wears skates of a quite modern form. Further back another woman walks deliberately towards this group, looking rather surprised. From still further off a man skates rapidly towards them, casting out his legs in the style which we should now consider almost peculiar to the Cockney, but which he has evidently inherited from his remote forefathers. Other figures are seen in the distance. One pair seems to consist of a young man asking a girl to skate with him. A castle stands on the left by the side of the water. In the sky we notice an attempt to figure a low-lying cloud. This is no doubt rather rude but not altogether unsuccessful; it

proves the artist to have been a man who had looked at clouds and knew something of what they were like. Many of the cuts are better worked out in detail than this, but all give evidence of the same aim, namely to imitate things as they are and not merely to copy the imitations of others.

At the end of the Schiedam reprint of the *Chevalier délibéré* is a new cut by a new hand, representing three skulls. They are laid upon a slab under a low flattened archway, and seen from different sides. Their outlines are fine, but all the form in them is given by the quantity of small shade hatchings laid closely side by side in bands, which also are laid close to each other. The skulls cast shadows on the slab, but they are not well gradated, and instead of producing an effect of relief they render the appearance of the whole flat. If the intention was to represent a niche in a wall, this was not brought about, for the background, which should have been in deep shadow, is perfectly white. The arch is ornamented with interlaced carved work. The spandrils also are carved with twining tendrils, but there is unfortunately a finical look about the whole. All the lines are short and hesitating. The shade is too flat and the whole cut wants relief, and this want of relief prevents the skulls from being so good as the care with which they are outlined might have made them. The outlines are lost in the confusion of the shadows, instead of these being subordinated to them. I am not able to guess who the woodcutter may have been, but the difference between this cut and the Liedwy series is strongly marked.

CHAPTER X.

Late Antwerp Woodcuts.

(1487—1500.)

33. The Second Antwerp Woodcutter, with other Cuts used there by M. van der Goes (1487—1489). 34. The Third Antwerp Woodcutter, employed by G. Back (1493—1500). 35. Miscellaneous Cuts used at Antwerp by G. Back (1493—1500). 36. Cuts used by Liesveldt and Martens (1494—1500). 37. Cuts used by R. van den Dorp and other Antwerp printers (1497—1500).

Sect. 33. *The Second Antwerp Woodcutter, with other Cuts used there by M. van der Goes* (1487—1489).

The printer who first settled at Antwerp was Mathias van der Goes. He started his press in 1482 and worked it till his death in 1491. His widow married G. Back, who continued the printing-office of his predecessor. The dates of most of Goes' books have to be determined conjecturally, as he seldom mentions them in the imprints. About the year 1486 he seems to have procured a series of 16mo. cuts. We only know of his using six of them himself, but a larger number are found in their company when they were employed by Back. In style of execution they recall the Haarlem woodcutter. Their principal fault is indistinctness, the outlines being hesitatingly cut, and often stiff and devoid of grace. But the weakness comes more prominently forward when features have to be indicated. The scale was too small for the workman; he could not do what he wanted with his knife, and so perforce had to rest content with

dots for the eyes, a line for the nose, and a cross line for the mouth. Flesh outlines are fringed with short blunt hatchings, almost as broad, where they sink into the main line, as they are long. The foreground is often left black, flowers and the like being cut out of it.

The black foreground is the only feature which this series has in common with the octavo cut on the title-page of *Tundalus*. It represents the Vision which he had of Death. Tundalus stands on the right, watching the lean figure dancing before him. In this cut the shade hatchings are thin and not pointed, separated from each other by a certain distance. The main lines are firm but rather angular; those of Death's cloak however are not much at fault and render his dancing motion. The feature outlines in the case of Tundalus are fairly good; the hands in both cases are almost formless.

The most remarkable cuts used at this press are the two quarto devices. The first represents a Wild Man, brandishing a club over his head and carrying the arms of Brabant. The foreground is left black, and flowers and the mark of the printer (an M surmounted by a double cross) are cut out of it. The second represents a three-masted vessel seen from the port side. She is moored and her sails are furled. On the top of each mast is a kind of basket cage. Two flags fly from the main-mast, bearing the arms of the Empire and those of the town of Antwerp. There are other flags and coats of arms in different parts of the vessel, bearing, according to M. Holtrop[1], the mark of the printer, the arms of the See of Utrecht, the cross of Burgundy, the arms of Austria, Holland, Zealand, and the town of Haarlem, of the families of Ursel and Ranst, and of the village of Goes in Zealand. For the explanation of this combination of coats of arms given by that author the reader must be referred to his book. It is possible that he may consider it somewhat forced. The style of both cuts proves their maker to have been a man of some power. Few pieces of woodcutting of the same date are better done. The variety in the arrangement of the rough locks of the Wild Man's hair, and the rightness of feeling in the constant change of form of the white spaces, are

[1] *Monuments*, p. 97.

both noticeable. The raised arm with the club has a look of life in it, as though it were just going to come down, and with force. All is carefully worked out, nothing left to chance. The hand that grasps the club is one of the few good hands I have seen; it has a certain amount of power and grip in it. The shield is conventionally treated, only the lion is perhaps more *clawy* than usual—all claws in fact except for his tongue and tail. In the Ship cut the most noticeable part is the water, which resembles the hair in the other and proves both to be the work of the same hand. I believe this artist to have been the same as the cutter of the few 16mos. above.

In an *Ordonancie van der munten* occurs an outline cut of five coins on a black ground. There is of course no possibility of investigating style of work in so rudimentary a design. The same block was used about the same time by Gerard Leeu, and there is nothing to show for which printer it was made. It may for the present remain with Goes.

Sect. 34. *The Third Antwerp Woodcutter, employed by G. Back* (1493—1500).

We learn from the register of the guild of St Luke at Antwerp that Godfrey Back, a bookbinder, married the widow of the printer Mathias van der Goes in November 1492. He continued the press of his predecessor, but employed a much larger number of woodcuts. He seems to have retained the services of one woodcutter entirely for himself. The first cuts by this man are a set of eight octavo copies from those in Leeu's *Corona mystica*. The moveable emblems introduced in Leeu's originals were beyond the powers of the less accomplished workman. Eight blocks answer the purpose of the larger number, and the emblems are missed out. The style of the woodcutting is frightful. The hair resembles bundles of ropes; the arches, and in fact all the architectural details, are out of perspective; everything is distorted. The outlines are rude and graceless, the shade hatchings numerous and fine, whether in the form of bands of shade or of fringed lines. Each line is laid thought-

lessly and the multiplication of lines is repulsive. An exception must be made in favour of the Crowns, which are more careful, though still not successful imitations of the originals.

After this set I have grouped together three quarto cuts, which are all the work of this hand, but may not have been made at one time. The Last Judgment and the Mass of St Gregory at any rate are much better than the first set. The outlines are purer and more graceful; indeed, so far as outline goes, they are deserving of praise. But the lines had to be supported, and so numerous thin fringe hatchings were used. The cuts really consist of thick belts of black scored with pointed furrows, which become broader and broader till they run into each other; this produces the effect of what I have usually called fringe-lines, but here the fringe is everything, the shade hatchings of which it is composed being so numerous and fine. The composition of the cuts is feeble. There is no background, nothing to attract the eye. The whole is without interest, the designs being stiff and of a dying conventionalism, the execution mechanical and in a dying method. They are interesting merely as marking a stage of decay.

By far the most extensive work of this cutter was the set of sixty-four little blocks which he made to illustrate the *Kerstenen Salicheyt* of 1495. They are very nearly the worst cuts made in the century. How any man can have imagined that they embellished a page is more than can be easily understood. They evidence an ignorant and careless workman. The outlines are clearly cut but of any form. The shade hatchings are unspeakable, tossed about in any kind of confusion; not a single one falls in its right place; not one produces an approach to a good effect; they would all be better cut away. They are laid anyhow, of any length and any thickness. The figures are misshapen and badly grouped, stiff in attitude and gesture. The faces are expressionless and often shapeless. The characteristic points are that the outlines though graceless are clear, and that the shade hatchings are rather wide apart.

In the following year we meet with a more careful cut by this workman—a copy of J. de Breda's Symbols of the Four Evangelists. It is used in no less than eleven undated books,

but happily also in a twelfth which bears date 3rd July 1496. As a copy it might be worse, but it loses all the little charm of the original, and, instead of glossy plumage and shaggy hair, we have the man's horrible thin shade hatchings cumbering the space.

A couple of quarto cuts referring to the life of St Dympna, another of St Catherine, and one representing Charles the Great meeting the knight Elegast riding out in the country are all in this style. In the first the Saint stands on a dragon on the tessellated pavement of a room with a sword in her left hand. The walls behind are shaded with a few long lines, widely separated. On the left is an open door, through which the slopes of a hill and some buildings can be seen. The hill is shaded with a few lines, all parallel to its outline, one within the other; they produce a bad effect. The cut would do equally for St Margaret. The Saint is crowned and her head is backed by a halo with the words *Sancta digna.* On the verso of the same leaf however is a cut evidently made for the book; it represents St Dympna kneeling at Confession in a chapel before a priest. The shade lines in this are all fine and open, the outlines are clear and thicker than the shade hatchings. The St Catherine is a companion cut to the St Dympna.

A cut representing the Dove hovering over the head of the Child, who stands on a bench between the Virgin and St Anne, and another almost exactly like it, only that God the Father appears above, are ruder work than most of this man's productions; the clear shapeless outlines and the fine shade hatchings point them out as unmistakeably his. A short octavo of Christ and the Virgin standing in a room must be included in the same group.

The most interesting set of all, notwithstanding its rudeness, is undoubtedly that made to illustrate the book on Fishing and Birdcatching, printed by Back without date. I have only been able to see a set of reproductions of them, which gave the impression that the originals were carved in strong, rude lines. I have no doubt, however, that this is a mistake, and that the same general characteristics as before apply also to these. The events represented are certainly of the simplest

kind, and do not throw much light on the methods employed by fishermen and birdcatchers of those days.

The last cut to be mentioned represents St Dominic receiving a rosary from the hand of the Child, who appears in the arms of the Virgin. Here the outlines are carefully, and in some instances gracefully drawn, as for example those of the Saint's cloak. The head of the Saint is also thoughtfully done, the features are clear, the mouth firm, the fringe of hair light, and the locks well arranged. The cutting of the Child is as bad as can be. The figure is misshapen, the shade hatchings thin, numerous and meaningless.

SECT. 35. *Miscellaneous cuts used at Antwerp by G. Back* (1493—1500).

Besides the cuts by the workman just described, Back uses a certain number of other blocks which will not fall into order and must for the present be classed together. The first of these are two Devices, one an octavo and the other a quarto, both of them with the Birdcage (the house of the printer was called the *Vogelhuis*) and the mark of M. v. d. Goes. It is possible that these were made by the hand which cut Goes' two quarto devices and for that printer, and that Back inherited them. The style of the woodcutting is more careful than that of Back's cutter. Much of the original surface of the block is left standing in masses as a background.

In the Golden Litany, printed about the year 1495, we find a rude set of borders made in imitation of Leeu's French series; in another book is a Mass of St Gregory, copied from a cut which had been Leeu's, and which Liesveldt used along with the French set in the *Duytsche Ghetiden* of 1494; finally in the Epistles and Gospels of 1496 there are two octavo cuts in the French style copied from Leeu's. Putting these indications together, it is probable that Back had a whole series of copies of the French cuts made for some edition of the *Horæ*, and that these which we find are the scattered remnants of them. The execution of these copies is abominable with the single

exception of the Mass of St Gregory, a cut already described as a work of the Haarlem school.

A new quarto device somewhat similar to the other two, but without Goes' mark, is found in the *Epistelen ende Evangelien* of 1496. It is by the same hand as the others. Two 32mo. cuts, which together form a device, are used, seemingly for the first time, in the undated *S. Katherinen Legende*, ascribed to the year 1496. They are cleanly and carefully cut. Yet another device, an octavo, is found in the *Sielentroest* bearing date 21st Sept. 1500. It represents two boys standing by a birdcage and shield.

In the *Kuere van Zeelandt*, printed about the year 1497, is a remarkable cut. It is an initial P within which is a portrait of Philip the Fair. Round the head, within the letter, are the lines

Iste. zelandrinis: has koras fecit ephebus:
fecit et angores virginis ante coli.

The Duke faces to the right. He wears a cap which is turned up behind; below it his long hair falls over his shoulders. His coat is trimmed with a broad border of fur, over which is the collar of the Golden Fleece. The hair is rendered by cross hatching—a very noticeable innovation—the same is the case with the turned-up back of the cap, where the bend of it is given by a set of crossing lines which have an elaborately double curvature. The lines are clear and show care in picking out the little white spaces where they cross. The face is not a pleasing one, the nose is broad and protruding, the mouth small, the lips thick, the cheeks rounded, the forehead broad, the eyes large and open, and the hair thick and full. In design as well as workmanship the cut stands alone amongst those of this century. It is not very excellent but it is in quite a fresh style, so much so that for a long time I thought it a German production.

SECT. 36. *Cuts used by Liesveldt and Martens* (1494—1500).

After Gerard Leeu's death, when his materials were sold and dispersed, a portion of them came into the possession of Adrian van Liesveldt. This included not only a fount of type but the series of French borders and cuts and a few other small blocks. With these he printed a number of devotional books, and they answered his purposes sufficiently well, for he seldom employed any new ones. Two 16mos. do however appear which seem to have been the work of a new hand, and may be part of a larger set. They represent the Last Judgment and the Angels adoring the infant Christ. The former seems to have been a new cut. It is of the usual type. Two angels are blowing trumpets, and on either side of the head of Christ are a sword and a lily. This serves to distinguish it from Leeu's two 16mo. Last Judgments, one of which has the angels and the other the sword and lily. For the rest the execution is also different. The workmanship is more ambitiously minute, the robes of the kneeling figures are covered with fine shade, and their hair, as well as that of Christ, is good and finished in detail. The outlines of the draperies are clear. The features, especially the eyes, are indicated with a larger number of lines than usual. If the cut were better printed than it is in the only copy I have seen it would look nice. It is probable that the second block belongs to the same series as this, though it does not make its appearance till some years later. The size of both is the same, but in the second the lines seem firmer and fewer. There is a marked absence of the fine shade hatchings, jagged-edged lines being used instead. The main drapery outlines are however in both cases similar, not only in their general arrangement but in the manner of the cutting.

Two publications relating to the mint were issued from this press about the year 1500. Both are illustrated with the arms and portrait of Maximilian. These do not attach themselves in style of workmanship to any of the woodcutters we know. The Archduke wears a large hat and a fur cloak. The fur is well rendered by white spaces of varied form dug out of the uniform black surface. The texture is that of a soft glossy

substance. His hair is similarly rendered. In all parts more details are added. The face and neck are rounded with shade; shade is also added under the eyes and across the forehead. On the hat are various details of ribbon and the like. The waistcoat has a collar fitting close round the neck; outside, resting on the fur, is the collar of the Golden Fleece. The coat of arms is by the same hand as the portrait. Both are the size of square 16mos. The only known workman these could possibly be by is the cutter of Dorp's Brabant Chronicle, but he must have modified his style considerably before he could come to this. Ten years later it would not be difficult to find a good deal more work of this kind, and, even at this date, such cuts were produced in Germany, but not in the Low Countries. So far as execution goes they are entirely right. They were probably made with about one half of the trouble which a lighter and more sketchy looking cut required, and yet they produce a more pleasing and finished effect and contain a large amount of detail. These same cuts were employed on two occasions by Thierry Martens in publications of a similar nature. The first was another edition of the *Muntplacaat* of 24 Dec. 1499[1], in which very possibly the same coins also made their appearance; the other was a *Valuatien ende ordonnantien van den ghelde,* printed not earlier than 1499[2], and as it is said to have been printed at Antwerp, it cannot have been earlier than 1502, the year in which Martens returned to that town.

In both publications containing the foregoing cuts representations of coins are also found. These do not present any remarkable characteristics. They are work in simple line, figuring sufficiently well the coins in question. The lines are in some cases rude but more generally give evidence of pains spent upon them. The best of them are the *Toyson d'or, Florin Phūs, Toyson d'argent, double Pattart,* and *Pattart,* all which seem to be the work of a more skilful hand than the rest.

Thierry Martens, after printing at Alost between the years

[1] A. F. van Iseghem, *Bibliographie de Thierry Martens.* Malines, 1852, 8vo. p. 355. The only copy known to him is in the Abbaye du Parc at Louvain, or, at any rate, was there on 1 April 1853.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 205.

1487 and 1492, removed to Antwerp where we find him at work in the year 1493. After Gerard Leeu's death he acquired a portion of his materials, amongst other things the Device of the Castle of Antwerp. The only other woodcut used by him appears in a book entitled *Quodlibetica decisio perpulchra et devota de septem doloribus christifere virginis marie.* The title-page is illustrated with a quarto cut, in part copied from that of the Mater Dolorosa used by Leeu in the *Seven Sorrows* of 1492. The Blessed Virgin is seen half-figure standing, her right hand raised, and seven swords plunged into her *right* side, the woodcutter having forgotten that his cut would be reversed in the printing. Tears are falling from her eyes. She wears a heavy cloak which is also prolonged over her head as a hood. Against the background are a number of stars. It is possible that this is a copy, not of Leeu's cut, but of the original St Luke picture, or of a painting copied from it. The woodcutting is peculiar. The outlines are firm and black, rather stiff sometimes and straight, giving a heavy look to the drapery. Many of them are fringed by long hatchings which are brought to very sharp points. Besides these there are a number of independent, shorter, but still thin shade lines disposed in rows, and in addition a quantity of dots of various shapes grouped in masses. The outlines of the features are carefully drawn, especially in the case of the nose and mouth, the curves of which are pleasingly rounded. The face wears an expression of sorrow, which is well rendered, and has every appearance of being a careful copy from some more elaborate original. The cheek and nose are rounded with a quantity of fine shade and the latter is made to cast a shadow on the upper lip. The hands are not so well done, they are stiff and wooden, the outlines being too thick and angular. Who the woodcutter may have been I have no means of judging. The style of the work does not recall that of any other set of cuts, and it is therefore necessary to leave it by itself.

Three different states of the book in which this cut occurs are known. The first is badly printed with many misprints, and has at the end the device of the Castle of Antwerp. In the second, the last leaf is cancelled and a new one inserted,

bearing an apology instead of the device, and stating that the book had been printed in a great hurry, and finished on the 15th June 1494. In this state the quires bear the signatures A—E. The third has signatures A—F, and on the last page a blank impression of a block, carved with the arms of Spain impaled with those of Austria. These were the arms of Philip the Fair *after* his marriage, which took place on 21 Oct. 1496. The book must therefore be placed after that date. A copy of this, printed on vellum, seems to have been specially made for Philip the Fair himself, as it is stated in the body of the book that he was a member of the confraternity for whose use it was printed[1]. The date of the cut of the Mater Dolorosa was at all events before 15 June 1494.

Sect. 37. *Miscellaneous Cuts used at Antwerp by Roland van den Dorp and others* (1497—1500).

We know of seven books printed by Roland van den Dorp, and only one of these bears a date. This is the Chronicle of Brabant of 28 Feb. 1497. In 1500 the printer seems to have died and his widow continued the press after him. The above-mentioned book is by far the most important of those printed at this press, not only on account of its size, but because it is illustrated with many cuts. These are of various sizes and seem to be the work of at least two, and possibly three, hands. In the first place there are a set of octavo cuts representing the Saints of Brabant, sixteen in number. Seven of these are very different in style from the remainder[2]. Possibly they had been made for some other book, but it is more natural to assume that, such a large number of blocks being required at once, two or three woodcutters were employed to produce them. The prints are little more than outlines. When any shade is added it is very light and fine and hardly darkens the cut at all. Large spaces are indeed sometimes left black (as in the

[1] See A. F. van Iseghem, *Bibliographie de Thierry Martens d'Alost.* Malines, 1852, 8vo. p. 204.

[2] They are in the book nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, and 18.

case of the curtains in Nos. 5 and 8, and the pavements of triangular black and white stones), but this is quite in character with the rest. The outlines are thin, long and usually straight. The figures are not ungraceful and the draperies are sometimes well designed in clear lines unsupported by fringes of hatchings. The effect is on the whole too white, but it would be worse if a number of the usual meaningless shade-lines were added. A few short hatchings are employed in No. 5 to support the outlines, but they are carefully laid. In the same cut the fall of the nun's cloak and hood is simple and natural. Some day it may be possible to group these cuts with others; at present it seems best to leave them by themselves.

They are not altogether different in style from three quarto cuts which appear in the book, but do not fit the pages nor belong to the regular series. These represent events in the life of Roland, one of the Twelve Peers under Charles the Great. The first depicts Charles seated on his throne, the Peers standing round him; in the second Roland leads the onslaught on the host of King Marcirius and his Saracens. The last cut shows Roland at Roncevaux blowing the olifant; he is seen under a rustic archway from which hang two shields, the left bears the arms of Antwerp, the right a hatchet which appears to have been the printer's mark. This last cut forms the printer's device. Bearing in mind the popularity in the middle ages of the Legend of Roland and the victories of Charles the Great, it is not at all improbable that these three cuts may have been made to illustrate some book on the subject and only appear here for the second time. This is the more likely when we consider that the printer's name was Roland, and that he chose his namesake's figure as his device; he would therefore have been the very hero whose history he would have selected to print. However this may be, and it is a mere conjecture, the three cuts must be grouped together for our present purposes. It seems likely that the designs for them, or at all events for the one representing a battle, were made by the artist who drew the designs for the half-folio battle cuts. The general arrangement is at all events the same. On each side is a body of knights who ride against each other; behind is undulating

ground where one or two soldiers fight on foot. The execution however differs altogether from that of the longer series. The lines are all thin, the shade hatchings fine, and the general effect of the cuts white. Behind the throne of Charles is a black curtain, the floor is tessellated with black and white stones. Behind Roland, in the device, is an undulating background, shaded by lines which run parallel to the outlines of the slopes. The chain armour of the knight recalls the style of the next woodcutter, but the cut differs in having thin outlines and shade hatchings; Roland's features too have more character, his nose is rounded, the nostril outlined and the cheek furrowed. Over his head is a scroll with the words *Roland van den Dorp* to make the meaning more evident. The incident represented is well known.

Rollanz ad mis l'olifan à sa buche,
Empeint le ben, par grant vertut le sunet.
Halt sunt li pui e la voiz est mult lunge,
Granz .xxx. liwes l'oïrent il respundre.
Karles l'oït e ses cumpaignes tutes;
Ço dit li reis: "Bataille funt nostre hume."

Li quens Rollanz par peine e par ahans,
Par grant dulor, sunet sun olifan;
Par mi la buche en salt fors li clers sancs,
De sun cervel le temple en est rumpant.

As the work of the same hand as these quarto cuts we must not forget to include three blocks, used in the *Historie van Troyen* of about 1500. They appear there in connexion with another quarto by the man who made the half-folios, with which we must next deal, and some of which occur elsewhere with them.

The remaining cuts in the book are all the work of one artist. Some of them are copies from those in the Godfrey of Boulogne, described as the work of the Third Gouda woodcutter. They are marked by great thickness in those outlines which are on the right or lower sides of any object, those on the left or upper sides being rather thin. Each of the firmer lines is fringed along its left side by a row of thick hatchings some eighth or quarter of an inch in length, and sharply pointed. The design is always of the simplest, and a few strokes suffice to render it.

The faces are all treated in the same way and wear the same expression—three lines and a dot for each eye, two straight lines joined to the eyebrows for the sides of the nose and a thick crossline for the bottom of it, another straight line below it for the mouth, and a curved one under that, and there you are—man and woman, old or young, it is all the same. The numerous battle-cuts are without animation, the figures are frozen where they stand. The defeated party turn their backs on the others and walk slowly away, two or three people fight in the middle, the victorious army also stands still watching. The buildings in the background are crude and without detail. When walls are represented as falling to the ground, they tumble to pieces, the masonry cracking like thin china, and towers toppling over for no apparent reason.

Seven of these half-folios were used again in the *Historie van Troyen* of about 1500. After Roland van den Dorp's death they all passed into other hands. They were all printed together in three other editions of the same book, once by Eckert van Homberch and twice by Jan van Doesborch. Claes de Grave used two of them in 1517 in his *Historie van Seghelijn,* and one in a *Somme ruyrael* ten years later. Several appear in Vorsterman's *Coronijcke van Vlaendren* of 1531, and two in the *Coronijcke van Maximilian,* printed, without date, by the same printer. They mark for us the introduction of a new era of woodcutting, in some respects a more healthy one, in which, from greater rudeness of handling the surface in thick black masses, a more refined method was afterwards to be elaborated by the School of Lucas van Leyden. With this however we have nothing to do; we must return to watch the expiring embers of the old system.

An undated book, more probably belonging to the early years of the sixteenth than to the end of the fifteenth century, is remarkable as a bold attack upon the Church. It is illustrated by four cuts, the first (in the list) of which may be by the same hand as the Brabant Chronicle series, but the remaining three must be referred to some other workman. The most daring of the cuts depicts a number of people kneeling with lighted tapers in their hands before an altar, resembling the

ordinary altar of a church. Instead however of the usual picture of the Virgin or a Saint, there is above it a figure, which, a scroll tells us, represents the goddess of Sloth, and the priest who officiates is decked out in a cap and bells. We can judge of the tendency of the book from this. The three cuts which mark the co-operation of a new hand show a greater multiplication of lines. There is scarcely any space left free; everywhere fine lines are crowded together as closely as possible. From the method employed thirty years previously, which went upon the principle of cutting away everything except a few leading outlines, we find that woodcutters have advanced to this quite opposite manner, in which their cuts are reduced to a mere tissue of minute strokes, carelessly but closely packed. The outlines still remain thick, but they are without grace or beauty. The faces wear blank expressions, the gestures are stupidly monotonous, the figures wooden. The walls are drawn in false perspective, and shaded with long thick lines in which even a breakage is a relief. There is not the slightest care shown in any single detail. The vertical lines are not vertical and the horizontal lines are always on the slant.

The first cut (the second in the book, one of the regular series being repeated on the title-page) is a contrast to the other three. It is lighter, the lines being in the older style, few and far between. The perspective is of course faulty, but there are some traces of animation about the figures. The picture lets us somewhat into the ways of the people. The man sitting outside his door with his pot of beer, talking to his neighbours, is worth any number of soulless saints. The whole thing is badly drawn but is still in a manner real; it takes you back to the old street with its cobbled pavements and its brick-walled houses with the benches before them. Though the faces of the people are not well drawn, there is some expression in them, and they avoid grimace. The monkeys are rather a pitiful set, but in them the workman was drawing on his imagination. I believe we shall not be far wrong in referring this print to the same hand as the cutter of the long series in the Brabant Chronicle.

Two other undated books, supposed to have been printed

about the year 1500, contain cuts, but none of them are of any importance. Two of those in the *Ganck die Jesus ghinc* may possibly be by the same hand as the three quartos above described, but I do not feel sufficiently certain to group them definitely together. The cuts in the *Seer minnelijcke woerden* are beyond description bad. They are roughly cut in numerous lines of uncertain form and length; the outlines are drawn almost anyhow, the expressions of the faces are frightful, the draperies are rude.

A small volume without printer's name, entitled *Leringe om salich te sterven,* contains two woodcuts, one of which is interesting. It represents two houses. Over the door of one of them is a shield with the initials AB, and between them a mark like a pair of scissors. By the door hangs a board with a sign like a mortar. On the front of the second house is another shield with a trade-mark and the monogram SW. Between the two shields is a third with the imperial eagle over the Castle of Antwerp. The houses are in two stories, the windows being without ornament. Over the doors are windows, and all the windows of the ground floor are high above the ground. Before one of the houses is a bench. All round the top is a battlement with a little turret at each corner and a third in the middle of the front. The house does not resemble the ordinary fifteenth century form of building, in which the high gables are turned towards the street and the stories project one over the other; but recalls rather the domestic architecture of an earlier period, when civic discords were rife and each man had to make his house a castle of defence. The imprint of the book states that it was printed at Antwerp, in a house in the Market-place with the sign of the '*grote gulden mortier*'[1]. Clearly therefore the woodcut in question represents the house of the printer. A book in the Hague Library was printed in 1508, 'in the Market-place,' by Adriaen van Berghen. Two other books in the same library were printed "*juxta mortarium aureum.*" Thus the second house was also inhabited by a printer, whose name, however, continues unknown.

[1] Holtrop, *Monuments*, p. 103.

In the same book is another cut, representing Death attacking a middle-aged man. He catches him by the wrist and holds his dart raised to strike. The man throws up his hands in terror, and the bending of his knees shows that strength fails him even to resist. Behind Death is an open grave, and further back an undulating country with a tree on the left and a castle on the right. The whole is filled with stiff shade lines, clear but graceless.

Both cuts are evidently by the same hand. The execution is very rough. In the house the windows are plain black spaces, crossed with white lines for the mullions. A few rude strokes serve to distinguish the street from the wall. The side of the house is shaded by long black hatchings. Neither block is a work of art, but the first is more interesting than nine-tenths of the woodcuts we meet with, because it records simple facts instead of silly fancies.

Henrick die Lettersnider is known to have been printing in Antwerp in the year 1496. Two of his books, both without date, are illustrated by a frightful octavo woodcut of the Crucifixion. The Virgin and St John stand at the foot of the Cross. The outlines of drapery are in the manner of the worst work of Back's woodcutter, and indeed I believe this to have been one of his productions. The shade hatchings are produced by rows of fine furrows dug side by side in the black masses. The figure of Christ is terrible, almost shapeless, the shade making it wooden. The thing is completely abominable. The distance is undulating, the hills are shaded by lines drawn parallel to the outlines of the slopes. On the ground in front are a few flowers, done without taste and quite out of place. In the beginning of the sixteenth century this printer removed to Delft. He took the cut with him, and was still using it in the year 1511.

WOODCUTTERS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

PART II.

CATALOGUE OF THE WOODCUTS.

ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE CATALOGUE.

The Sections into which the Catalogue is divided correspond to the Sections in the First Part of the Book; only it has not been thought necessary in this part to retain the grouping into chapters.

Under each Section the individual cuts, or sets of cuts, are numbered in order of date.

In the case of a single cut, its name is given first, and then the names of those books in which it occurs. If, however, the cut be a printer's device, it has usually been considered sufficient to note the first book only in which it is found.

In the case of a series of cuts, the general name of the series is placed first; then the list of books in which any of the series occur, the books being lettered (A, B, etc.) in their chronological order; the numbered list of the cuts themselves comes last, and, within a parenthesis after the name of each cut, the letters are introduced corresponding to the books, in the list immediately preceding, in which that cut is to be found.

Each book is designated, in the lists, by a short title with the date, or approximate date, of publication, the name of the printer, and of the town where the book was printed; in a parenthesis, at the end of the short title, the number of the book is given from M. Campbell's *Annales de la Typographie Néerlandaise au XV^e siècle* (La Haye, 1874), preceded by the letters CA. to stand for that book.

Whenever a cut has been reproduced in Holtrop's *Monuments typographiques des Pays-Bas au XV^e siècle* (La Haye, 1868), a reference has been made to it, with the initials HMT.

WOODCUTTERS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

PART II.

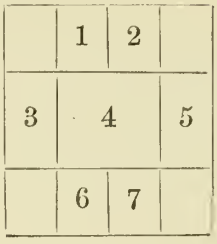
CATALOGUE OF THE WOODCUTS.

SECT. 1. *The Biblia Pauperum* (used 1487—1500).

A SET of 40 folio cuts engraved in pairs on 20 double-folio blocks, from which Edition B (see p. 3) of this block-book was printed.

A.	before 1467—Biblia Pauperum, edition B.	Unknown printer.
B.	5 Jan. 1487—Epistelen ende euangelijen (CA. 697).	Zwolle, P. van Os.
C.	23 Aug. 1487—Breviarium Trajectense (CA. 374).	,, ,,
D.	18 Nov. 1487—Liden ons Heren (CA. 1161).	,, ,,
E.	10 Nov. 1488—Euangelien ende epistelen (CA. 699).	,, ,,
F.	21 Nov. 1488—Bien boeck (CA. 1658).	,, ,,
G.	1488—Liden ons Heren (CA. 1162).	Hasselt, Barmentloe.
H.	1488—Sterfboeck (CA. 1620).	Zwolle, P. van Os.
K.	about 1488—Carmen de nativitate (CA. 1378).	,, ,,
L.	21 Feb. 1489—Liden ons Heren (CA. 1163).	,, ,,
M.	1 April 1490—Vaderboeck (CA. 938).	,, ,,
N.	13 Dec. 1490—Liden ons Heren (CA. 1165).	,, ,,
O.	14 Feb. 1491—Epistelen ende euangelien (CA. 702).	,, ,,
P.	4 June 1491—Sterfboeck (CA. 1621).	,, ,,
Q.	1 July 1491—Vier uutersten (CA. 1323).	,, ,,
R.	1491—Lijden ons Heren (CA. 1166).	,, ,,
S.	1500—Vulgaria computi (not in CA.).	,, ,,

The cuts in the original block-book (A in the preceding list) are divided into compartments, thus:



When the blocks were cut up, each compartment became a separate block, and it is in this state that they appear in the later printed books (B to S). In the block-book the pages are numbered, the first twenty with the letters *a* to *v*, the second twenty with the same letters between points *.a.* to *.v.* These will be called the first and second alphabets respectively.

FIRST ALPHABET:

a
1. Isaiah. 2. David.
3. Temptation of Eve. 4. Annunciation (BE). 5. Gideon's Fleece.
6. Ezekiel. 7. Jeremiah.

b
1. Daniel. 2. Isaiah.
3. Moses and the burning bush. 4. Nativity (BEK). 5. Aaron's rod.
6. Habakkuk. 7. Micah.

c
1. David. 2. Isaiah.
3. Abner visits David. 4. The Three Kings (BE). 5. Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.
6. Isaiah. 7. Balaam.

d
1. David (B). 2. Malachi (B).
3. Presentation of the First-born. 4. Presentation of Christ (BE). 5. Presentation of Samuel.
6. Zechariah. 7. Zephaniah.

e
1. Isaiah. 2. David.
3. Jacob sent away by Rebecca. 4. Flight into Egypt. 5. Michal lets David down out of a window.
6. Jeremiah. 7. Hosea.

f
1. Hosea. 2. Nahum.
3. Golden Calf. 4. The Idols of Egypt falling down before the Holy Family. 5. Dagon falling before the Ark.
6. Zechariah. 7. Zephaniah.

g	1. David.	2. Proverbs.	
3. Abimelech and his sons slain.	4. The murder of the Innocents.		5. The massacre of the sons of Ahaziah by order of Athaliah.
	6. Jeremiah.	7. Hosea.	
h	1. David.	2. Hosea.	
3. David consulting the oracle about his return.	4. The return of the Holy Family.		5. Jacob returns to his own land.
	6. Hosea.	7. Zechariah.	
i	1. Isaiah.	2. David.	
3. The Passage of the Red Sea.	4. The Baptism of Christ (BE).		5. The grapes of Eshcol.
	6. Ezekiel.	7. Zechariah.	
k	1. David.	2. Isaiah.	
3. Esau selling his birthright.	4. The Temptation of Christ (BEO).		5. The Fall.
	6. 2 Kings.	7. Job.	
l	1. Moses.	2. David.	
3. Elijah and the widow's son.	4. The raising of Lazarus (DELNOR).		5. Elijah raising the widow's son (DLNR).
	6. Job.	7. 3 Kings (DR).	
m	1. David.	2. Isaiah.	
3. Abraham and the three angels.	4. The Transfiguration (BE).		5. The three Children in the furnace.
	6. Habakkuk.	7. Malachi.	
n	1. Ezekiel.	2. David.	
3. Nathan and David.	4. Supper at Simon's (ELNR).		5. Miriam with leprosy.
	6. Zechariah.	7. David.	
o	1. David (O).	2. Canticles (O).	
3. David with Goliath's head (LNR).	4. Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (DLNR).		5. 'Go up, thou baldhead'!
	6. Zechariah.	7. Zechariah.	

p	1. Hosea (DEL NOR).	2. David (D ELNOR).	
3. Esdras bidden by Darius to purify the Temple.	4. Christ cleansing the Temple (DLNR).		5. Maccabeus purifying the Temple (DLNR).
	6. Amos (DL NR).	7. Zechariah (DLNR).	
q	1. Jacob.	2. David.	
3. Jacob informed of the death of Joseph.	4. Judas offering to betray Christ (DLNR).		5. Absalom stirring up rebellion.
	6. Solomon (DR).	7. Jeremiah (DLN).	
r	1. David.	2. Solomon.	
3. Joseph sold (DLNR).	4. Judas paid by the priests (DLNR).		5. Joseph sold to Potiphar.
	6. Haggai.	7. Zechariah.	
s	1. David.	2. Solomon.	
3. Melchizedek meeting Abraham.	4. The Last Supper (DLOR).		5. The fall of Manna (DLNR).
	6. Isaiah (S).	7. Wisdom.	
t	1. Micah (HP).	2. Baruch (HP).	
3. Micaiah and Ahab (DLNR).	4. Christ about to go to the Mount of Olives (DELNR).		5. Elisha prophesying plenty in Samaria.
	6. Jonah.	7. Tobias.	
v	1. Lamentations.	2. Isaiah.	
3. The five foolish Virgins.	4. The Amazement of the soldiers (DLNR).		5. The Fall of the Angels (DLNR).
	6. Jeremiah.	7. Baruch.	

SECOND ALPHABET:

.a.	1. David.	2. Canticles.	
3. The murder of Abner (DLNR).	4. The Betrayal (DLNR).		5. Tryphon takes Jonathan captive.
	6. Isaiah.	7. Jeremiah.	
.b.	1. Isaiah.	2. Proverbs.	
3. Jezebel trying to slay Elijah.	4. Pilate washing his hands (DLNR).		5. Daniel accused by the Babylonians (DLNR).
	6. Job.	7. Amos.	

.c.	1. David. 2. Proverbs.	
3. Shem covering Noah (DLNR).	4. Christ crowned with thorns (DGLNR).	5. Elisha mocked by children.
	6. Lamentations. 7. Isaiah.	
.d.	1. Isaiah. 2. Jeremiah.	
3. Isaac carrying wood (DLNR).	4. Christ bearing his Cross (DLNR).	5. The widow of Sarepta holding two pieces of wood in the form of a cross.
	6. David. 7. Jeremiah.	
.e.	1. David. 2. Isaiah.	
3. Abraham's sacrifice (DLNR).	4. The Crucifixion (DLNR).	5. The brazen Serpent.
	6. Job. 7. Habakkuk.	
.f.	1. David. 2. Zechariah.	
3. The formation of Eve (DLNR).	4. The spear of Longinus (DEGLNR).	5. Moses striking the rock.
	6. Lamentations. 7. Amos (LN).	
.g.	1. David. 2. Canticles.	
3. Joseph let down into the pit.	4. The Entombment (DGLNR).	5. Jonah thrown into the sea (DLNR).
	6. Isaiah. 7. Jacob.	
.h. This page in A is HMT. 3 (2).		
	1. David. 2. Hosea.	
3. David slaying Goliath (DLNR).	4. The descent to Hades, HMT. 98 (65) *a* 4 (DGLNR).	5. Sampson killing a lion.
	6. Zechariah. 7. Genesis.	
.i.	1. David. 2. Jacob (DEL NOR).	
3. Sampson carrying the gates of Gaza.	4. The Resurrection (BDL NOR).	5. Jonah thrown up by the whale (DLNR).
	6. Hosea. 7. Zephaniah.	
.k.	1. Isaiah. 2. David.	
3. Reuben searching in the well.	4. The three Maries at the tomb (DGLNOR).	5. The Daughter of Sion seeking for her spouse (DLNR).
	6. Micah. 7. Jacob.	

.l.	1. David.	2. 1 Kings.	
3. Daniel released from the den of Lions.	4. Christ as the Gardener (DLNR).		5. The Daughter of Sion finding her spouse (DLNR).
	6. Isaiah.	7. Hosea.	
.m.	1. David.	2. Wisdom.	
3. Joseph discovering himself to his brethren (DL[R?]).	4. Christ appears to the Twelve (DLNR).		5. The Prodigal's return.
	6. Isaiah.	7. Ezekiel.	
.n.	1. Isaiah.	2. Jeremiah.	
3. The Angel and Gideon (DLNR).	4. Thomas doubting (DGLNR).		5. Jacob and the Angel.
	6. David.	7. Zephaniah (not as before).	
.o.	1. David.	2. Isaiah.	
3. Enoch taken up to heaven (DLNR).	4. The Ascension (BDEGL NOR).		5. Elijah in the chariot of fire.
	6. Deuteronomy.	7. Micah.	
.p.	1. David.	2. Wisdom.	
3. Moses receiving the Tables (DLNR).	4. Pentecost (BDELMNOR).		5. Elijah's sacrifice.
	6. Ezekiel.	7. Joel.	
.q.	1. David.	2. Canticles (but not as before).	
3. Solomon seating his mother by his side.	4. The Coronation of the Virgin.		5. Esther and Ahasuerus.
	6. Isaiah.	7. Wisdom.	
.r.	1. Ecclesiastes.	2. 1 Kings.	
3. Solomon's judgment.	4. The Last Judgment (HP).		5. Saul's murderer killed by David's command.
	6. Isaiah.	7. Ezekiel.	

.s.	1. Wisdom. 2. David.	
3. Korah and his friends swallowed up.	4. The damned dragged off by a devil (H).	5. Sodom and Gomorrah burnt up.
	6. Jeremiah. 7. Job.	
.t.	1. David. 2. Tobit.	
3. The feast of Job's children.	4. Christ bearing the souls of the Blessed (CFH).	5. Jacob's ladder (CM).
	6. Joshua. 7. Isaiah.	
.v.	1. David. 2. Isaiah.	
3. The Daughter of Sion crowned by her Spouse.	4. The Reward of the Righteous.	5. St John and the Angel.
	6. Ezekiel. 7. Hosea.	

SECT. 2. *The Canticum Canticorum* (used 1494).

A set of 32 half-folio cuts engraved, in groups of four, on eight double-folio blocks, from which the first edition of this block-book was printed.

A.	before 1467—Canticum Canticorum, edition A.	Unknown printer.
B.	1494—Rosetum exercitiorum (CA. 1224).	Zwolle, P. van Os.

(In the following list references are inserted to the chapter and verse which the prints are intended to illustrate.)

1. (V. 1; I. 1). Christ invites his Bride and her two maidens, the Daughters of Jerusalem, into his Garden. Within the paling the harvest and the whole process of making bread is represented (B)—HMT. 6 (109) and 91 (110) *a* 2.

2. (I. 4; VII. 5, 4). The Bride raised from the ground and surrounded by rays of glory in the mid.; on the l. are her maidens, on the r. the Church on earth—HMT. 6 (109).

3. (II. 14; I. 3, 4). Christ takes his Bride by the hand and addresses her.

4. (IV. 1; II. 10). The Bride arises hearing the voice of her Beloved.

5. (II. 1; II. 16). Christ presents a lily to his Bride.

6. (II. 6; I. 9). The Bride reposing with her head in Christ's lap.

7. (VIII. 13; VII. 13). The Bride gathers fruit in a garden and presents it to Christ.

8. (V. 8; II. 5). The Bride lying in bed, sick with love; angels show her a seal with the image of Christ and the Church.

9. (V. 9; V. 10). The Daughters of Jerusalem question the Bride.

10. (II. 7). The Bride reposing on the lap of Christ.

11. (VII. 8; I. 13). Christ conversing with his Bride in a vineyard.

12. (IV. 12; IV. 15, 16). Christ and the Bride in a closed garden protected by angels.

13. (VI. 10; V. 16). The Bride attended by two maidens conversing with Christ.

14. (V. 2; V. 6, 3). The Bride attended by her maidens opens the door to Christ.

15. (I. 6; I. 7). Christ as a shepherd addressing the Bride.

16. (V. 6; VII. 7). The Bride sits between her maidens talking to them.

17. (VII. 6; VIII. 1). The Bride consoled by Christ.

18. (IV. 11; V. 1). Christ gives the cup to the Bride.

19. (VIII. 6; VIII. 7). The Bride attended by her maidens gives the Sacrament to a monk and a nun who kneel before her.

20. (VIII. 5; II. 2, 13; VI. 8). Christ, as an Eagle, supporting the Bride.

21. (VI. 12; VII. 10). The Bride pointing to Christ addresses her maidens.

22. (IV. 6; VII. 1). The Bride and her maidens return to Christ crucified. An angel speaks to them.

23. (VII. 11, 12; VII. 13). Christ and his Bride stand before a building and a vineyard protected by an angel.

24. (I. 13). The Bride holds up an image of Christ crucified.

25. L. side. (III. 2). The Bride reposes on a bed in a castle; a Pope, Cardinals, and a Bishop with a shield stand beside her.

R. side. (V. 7). The Bride walking abroad is attacked.

26. (V. 1; VII. 9). In a room Christ gives the Sacrament to the Bride.

27. (III. 4; IV. 7). The Bride leaves her chamber to seek for Christ.

28. (I. 14; I. 15). Christ converses with the Bride in her chamber.

29. (VIII. 10; IV. 4). The Bride seated before a castle between two angels.

30. (V. 2; III. 7, 8). Christ and the Bride in a bed; Christ awakes, and the Bride supports his head.

31. (VIII. 6; VIII. 14, 6). The Bride receives from Christ the seal of the Trinity.

32. (IV. 8; V. 15, 16). The Bride in prayer on Lebanon; and the Bride receiving a Crown from Christ.

Sect. 3. *The Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* (used 1481—1484).

A set of 58 oblong cuts in two compartments, engraved in pairs on 29 blocks.

A.	before B —Speculum, in one fount (CA. 1570).	Unknown printer.
B.	before C —Speghel, in two founts (CA. 1571).	,,
C.	before D —Speculum, with some woodcut text (CA. 1569).	,,
D.	before 1474—Speghel, in one fount (CA. 1572).	,,
E.	19 April 1481—Epistelen ende Ewangelien (CA. 690).	Utrecht, Veldener.
F.	27 Sept. 1483—Spieghel (CA. 1573).	Kuilenburg, ,,
G.	1484—Kruidboeck (CA. 918).	,, ,,

In the following list the pages are numbered and the compartments lettered. The whole series is found in ABCD and F.

1.	*a.* Fall of Lucifer.	*b.* Formation of Eve.
2.	*a.* Betrothal of Adam and Eve.	*b.* Temptation of Eve.
3.	*a.* The Fall (G).	*b.* Expulsion from Eden.
4.	*a.* Adam digs and Eve spins.	*b.* Noah's Ark.
5.	*a.* The Annunciation to the Shepherds.	*b.* King Astrages' dream.
6.	*a.* '*Ortus conclusus, fons signatus*', Cant. iv.	*b.* The angel meets Balaam.
7.	*a.* The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.	*b.* The Root of Jesse (G).
8.	*a.* The Closed Door, a type of the Blessed Virgin.	*b.* Solomon's Temple.
9.	*a.* The dedication of the Blessed Virgin in the Temple.	*b.* The dedication of a golden table in the temple of the Sun.
10.	*a.* Jephthah slaying his daughter.	*b.* The Queen of Persia surveying her land from a tower in a garden.
11.	*a.* The Betrothal of the Blessed Virgin and St Joseph.	*b.* The Betrothal of Sara and Tobias.
12.	*a.* The tower of Baris.	*b.* The castle of David with a thousand shields.
13.	*a.* The Annunciation.	*b.* Moses and the burning Bush.
14.	*a.* Gideon and his fleece.	*b.* Rebekah giving water to Abraham's steward.

15. *a.* The Nativity. *b.* The dream of Pharaoh's cup-bearer.
16. *a.* Aaron's rod budding. *b.* The Sibyl and Augustus.
17. *a.* The Adoration of the Magi. *b.* The Magi see the Star.
18. *a.* The three mighty men bring David water. *b.* Solomon on his throne.
19. *a.* The Presentation of Christ in the Temple. *b.* The Ark of the Covenant.
20. *a.* The golden Candlestick. *b.* Samuel dedicated to the Lord.
21. *a.* The Flight into Egypt. *b.* The Egyptians adore an image of the Madonna and Child.
22. *a.* Moses casts down and breaks a crown. *b.* Nebuchadnezzar sees a great image in a dream.
23. *a.* The Baptism of Christ. *b.* Naaman washing in the Jordan.
24. *a.* The great Laver in the temple. *b.* The bed of the Jordan dries up for the Ark to go over.
25. *a.* The Temptation of Christ. *b.* Daniel destroys the dragon.
26. *a.* David slays Goliath. *b.* David slays a lion and a bear.
27. *a.* The Supper at Bethany. *b.* Manasses in captivity.
28. *a.* The return of the Prodigal Son. *b.* The penitence of David.
29. *a.* The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem. *b.* Jeremiah lamenting over Jerusalem.
30. *a.* David entering the town, carrying the head of Goliath. *b.* Heliodorus beaten by angels.
31. *a.* The Last Supper. *b.* The fall of Manna.
32. *a.* The feast of the Passover. *b.* Abraham and Melchizedek.
33. *a.* The amazement of the soldiers sent to take Christ. *b.* Sampson slaying a thousand men with a jawbone.
34. *a.* Shamgar slaying six hundred Philistines. *b.* David slaying eight hundred men.
35. *a.* The Betrayal of Christ. *b.* Abner slain by Joab.
36. *a.* David playing before Saul. *b.* Abel killed by Cain.
37. *a.* Christ buffeted. *b.* Hur the husband of Miriam (Exodus xvii).
38. *a.* Noah drunk with wine. *b.* Sampson pulling down the temple.
39. *a.* Christ scourged. *b.* Achior bound to a tree (Judith vi).
40. *a.* Lamech and his two wives. *b.* Job tempted by his wife and Satan.

41. *a.* Christ crowned with thorns. *b.* The king's concubine sets his crown upon her own head.

42. *a.* David cursed by Shimei, HMT. 17 (19), 18 (7), 20 (14), and 22 (1). *b.* The servants of David dishonoured by Ammon, HMT. 17 (19), 18 (7), 20 (14), and 22 (1).

43. *a.* Christ bearing his cross. *b.* Abraham's sacrifice.

44. *a.* The servants slay the king's son in the vineyard. *b.* The spies bearing grapes.

45. *a.* Christ nailed to the cross. *b.* The invention of work in iron.

46. *a.* Isaiah sawn asunder. *b.* The king of Moab sacrifices his son, HMT. 21 (25).

47. *a.* Christ on the cross between two thieves. *b.* Nebuchadnezzar sees a great tree in a dream.

48. *a.* King Codrus sacrifices himself for his people. *b.* Eleazar slays an elephant and is slain himself (1 Macc. vi).

49. *a.* The Descent from the Cross. *b.* Jacob recognises the coat of Joseph.

50. *a.* Adam and Eve weep over the body of Abel. *b.* Naomi weeps over her sons.

51. *a.* The Entombment. *b.* David weeps behind Abner's bier.

52. *a.* Joseph let down into the pit. *b.* Jonah swallowed by the whale.

53. *a.* The Descent to Hades. *b.* Israel coming out of Egypt.

54. *a.* Abraham leaving Ur. *b.* Lot coming out of Sodom.

55. *a.* The Resurrection. *b.* Sampson bearing away the gates of Gaza.

56. *a.* Jonah coming out of the whale, HMT. 19 (31). *b.* The stone which the builders refused, HMT. 19 (31).

57. *a.* The Last Judgment, HMT. 39 (29) 4 *b.* *b.* The ordeal by water.

58. *a.* The ten virgins (E). *b.* Daniel before Belshazzar.

SECT. 4. *The Boec van den Houte* (used 1483).

LEGEND OF THE HOLY CROSS.—A set of 32 oblong cuts in two compartments, together the width of a folio page.

A. before 1483—Boec van den Houte (a block-book). Unknown printer.

B. 6 Mar. 1483—Boec van den Houte (CA. 940). Kuilenburg, Veldener.

The blocks were cut up into their separate compartments before being used in B, in which the whole set appears. No copy of A has yet been discovered.

1. *a.* Adam bidding Seth go to the angel at the gate of Paradise to enquire when he was to die. *b.* Seth at the gate of Paradise receiving from the angel three of the seeds of the Tree of Life.
2. *a.* Seth buries Adam and puts the three seeds under his tongue. *b.* The three little trees which have grown from the seeds.
3. *a.* Moses sees the three trees in a vision. *b.* The children of Israel murmur at the bitter waters.
4. *a.* An angel bids Moses put the three trees into the bitter waters. *b.* Moses dips the trees into the waters.
5. *a.* Moses plants the trees in the land of Moab. *b.* An angel, appearing to David in a vision, bids him go and fetch the trees.
6. *a.* David as he carries the trees touches some sick people with them and they are cured. *b.* A leper whom he meets is at once cleansed.
7. *a.* Three black men who come to meet David are made white. *b.* David brings the three trees into Jerusalem and plants them in his garden.
8. *a.* The three trees in one night take root and join together into one trunk. *b.* David builds a wall round his garden.
9. *a.* David makes a chain of thirty sapphire rings. *b.* Solomon, when he builds the temple, has the tree cut down.
10. *a.* Workmen try to build the wood of it into the temple. *b.* They cannot get it to fit into any place.
11. *a.* A woman who sits on the log finds her clothes burning. *b.* A Sibyl prophesies that Christ shall hang on that wood.
12. *a.* The Sibyl is scourged to death. *b.* The beam is put as a foot-bridge over a stream.
13. *a.* The Queen of Sheba will not walk over it but goes through the water instead. *b.* She reproves Solomon for putting the beam to an ignoble use.
14. *a.* Solomon has it brought away and adorned with rings. *b.* Solomon has it put over the door of the temple.
15. *a.* King 'Abyas' has the gold taken off it (1 Kings xv. 18). *b.* The Jews bury it in the earth.

16. *a.* A long time afterwards, on the spot where it was buried, a pool is dug for the people to wash in before the sacrifice.
b. The angel stirs the water daily and the sick that enter first after him are healed.

17. *a.* While Christ is before Pilate the wood floats on the surface of the pool.
b. The Jews make a Cross of it.

18. *a.* Christ bearing the Cross, HMT. 115(34)3 *a*.
b. Christ on the Cross between the two thieves.

19. *a.* People possessed with the devil who kneel before the Cross are cleansed.
b. The Priests have the Crosses buried.

20. *a.* St Helena comes from Rome to find the Cross.
b. She enquires among the Jews for it.

21. *a.* She puts the priest Judas into a pit till he shall tell her where it is buried.
b. Judas promises to tell her if he is let out.

22. *a.* In answer to his prayer an angel tells him where the Cross is buried.
b. He digs and finds the Crosses and the three Nails.

23. *a.* He gives them to St Helena.
b. To find which is the Cross of Christ they lay them in turn upon a corpse.

24. *a.* The Cross of Christ restores the dead to life.
b. St Helena divides the Cross into two parts, one of which she takes to Rome.

25. *a.* She brings the Cross and the three Nails to Constantine.
b. A tyrant at Jerusalem dishonours the part of the Cross which had been left behind.

26. *a.* Cosdras sits on a throne calling himself the Father, the Cross the Son, and the Cock on a pillar the Holy Ghost.
b King Heracles fights the son of King Cosdras.

27. *a.* Heracles defeats Cosdras' son on the bridge called 'Danubyen'.
b. All the people accept Heracles as King.

28. *a.* Heracles commands King Cosdras to become a Christian.
b. On his refusal his head is cut off.

29. *a.* The son of Cosdras and all his people are baptised.
b. Heracles buries the dead king and gives his kingdom to his son.

30. *a.* Heracles takes the piece of the Cross which Cosdras had put into his throne and brings it back to Jerusalem. *b.* Heracles is about to ride into Jerusalem, but an angel closes the gate before him.

31. *a.* Heracles walks bare-foot through the street of Jerusalem. *b.* Heracles puts the holy wood back where it was wont to stand.

32. *a.* Merchants in danger on the seas invoke the Cross and God saves them. *b.* They bring their offerings to the Cross.

SECT. 5. *The First Louvain Woodcutter* (1475—1477).

1. Portrait of the Printer John of Westfalia—a small vignette, HMT. 49 (87) *a* and *c*.

21 Nov. 1475—Justiniani Institutiones (CA. 1052).	Louvain,	J. de Westfalia.
29 Nov. 1475—Virgil. Bucolica et Georgica (CA. 1731).	,,	,,
about 1475—Breviarium Codicis (CA. 1053).	,,	,,
1475-76—Prognosticatio anni 1476 (CA. 1081).	,,	,,
8 April 1476—Virgil. Aeneis (CA. 1728).	,,	,,
1477—Kaetspel (CA. 1060).	,,	,,
31 Aug. 1484—Paulus de Middelburgo (CA. 1362).	,,	,,

2. Veldener's first device; two shields suspended from a branch, the l. bearing his own mark, the r. the arms of Louvain, HMT. 47 (28) 3 *a*.

29 Dec. 1475—Fasciculus temporum (CA. 1478).	Louvain,	Veldener.
30 April 1476—Epistolares Formulae (CA. 1201).	,,	,,

The same device is used by Veldener in a second state, the arms of Louvain being cut out and the shield left plain, as in HMT. 39 (29) 2 and 115 (34) 2 *b*. It appears thus in the following:

30 July 1479—Epistelen ende ewangelien (CA. 688).	Utrecht,	Veldener.
27 Sept. 1483—Spieghel onser behoudenisse (CA. 1573).	Kuilenburg,	,,
1484—Kruidboeck (CA. 918).	,,	,,

3. A set of 9 small cuts of various sizes made for the *Fasciculus temporum*.

A. 29 Dec. 1475—Fasciculus temporum (CA. 1478).	Louvain,	Veldener.
B. 30 July 1479—Epistelen ende ewangelien (CA. 688).	Utrecht,	,,
C. 14 Feb. 1480—Fasciculus temporum (CA. 1479).	,,	,,
D. 19 April 1481—Epistelen ende ewangelien (CA. 690).	,,	,,

The cuts are:

1. Noah's ark (AC).
2. The Rainbow (AC).
3. The Tower of Babel:
   1st state (A).
   2nd state, with top storey and crane cut off (C).
4. A walled town (AC).
5. A walled town with a portcullis (AC).
6. '*Templum domini*' (AC).
7. A walled town, smaller (AC).
8. Destruction of a town (A).
9. *Salvator Mundi*, HMT. 39 (29) 2—8vo cut (ABC).

4. *Castrum Caesaris*, probably no. 4, 5, or 7 of the preceding series; but I have not seen the book.

30 April 1476—Epistolares Formulae (CA. 1201). Louvain, Veldener.

5. The *Fleur de Lys*, the badge of one of the colleges at Louvain, HMT. 53 (123) *a* 3.

30 April 1476—Epistolares Formulae (CA. 1201).	Louvain, Veldener.
1 Dec. 1476—Epistolares Formulae (CA. 1202).	,, C. de Westfalia.

6. Portrait of the Printer Conrad of Westfalia—a small vignette HMT. 53 (123) *a* 4.

1 Dec. 1476—Epistolares Formulae (CA. 1202). Louvain, C. de Westfalia.

7. Portrait of Maximilian.

Nov. 1477—Bruni Carmen (CA. 385). Louvain, J. de Westfalia.

SECT. 6. *The Utrecht Woodcutter* (1479—1484).

1. G l's first device. A teacher and scholar stand on a pavement; behind is Moses receiving the tables of stone. The monogram G l is on the pavement. HMT. 44 (42) 2.

7 May 1479—Der sielentroest (CA. 1544). Utrecht, G l.

2. G l's second device. Two shields, that on the r. bearing three hammers on a bend. Between the shields is the printer's monogram. HMT. 44 (42) 3.

10 Nov. 1479—Der sielentroest (CA. 1545). Utrecht, G l.

3. G l's third device. Two shields fastened to a short tree, with the monogram between them. The shield on the l. bears the arms of Utrecht (containing St Martin, the patron Saint), that on the r. the printer's arms as before. HMT 44 (42) 1 *e*.

30 March 1480—Boeck des gulden throens (CA. 1342). Utrecht, G l.

4. A set of cuts to illustrate the 'Golden Throne.'

30 March 1480—Boeck des gulden throens (CA. 1342). Utrecht, G l.

An Elder and the Soul, as a girl, standing before a wall; Christ appears above in clouds—8vo cut.

An Elder standing, explaining with his fingers (1).
An Elder, similar to the preceding, but seen almost facing (2).
An Elder seated, his right hand raised (3).
An Elder standing, with a sceptre in his left hand (4).
An Elder seated, his right hand in his lap (5).
An Elder standing (6).

The Soul, as a girl, standing with her dress on the ground and her hair seen on both sides of her face (1).
The Soul standing, her hair seen on one side of her face only (2).
The Soul kneeling (3).
The Soul standing, her dress tucked up (4).
The Soul kneeling, her hands against her breast (5).

There are also four Borders distinguished by their canopies, which consist of
Two pointed arches (1).
Two cusped arches (2).
Three pointed arches (3).
A single flattened arch (4).

These cuts are curiously devised, so as to be capable of great variation. Each border is made to hold one of the Elders on the left and one of the Souls on the right, but with any border any Elder may be combined with any Soul. The first cut, which is complete in itself, is found five times.

Taking the remaining cuts in order the combinations are as follows, where E stands for Elder, S for Soul, and B for Border:

1.	B1, E1, S1.	2.	B2, E2, S2.	3.	B3, E3, S3.	4.	B4, E4, S2.
5.	B1, E5, S1.	6.	B2, E1, S2.	7.	B3, E4, S3.	8.	B4, E3, S2.
9.	B1, E6, S4.	10.	B2, E2, S5.	11.	B3, E5, S1.	12.	B4, E4, S2.
13.	B1, E3, S5.	14.	B2, E2, S5.	15.	B3, E4, S4.	16.	B4, E3, S2.
17.	B1, E6, S1.	18.	B2, E1, S2.	19.	B3, E5, S5.		

The whole set of 20 is well reproduced in HMT. 42, 43, 44 (40, 41, 42).

5. Veldener's second device—a 4to cut. Two lions supporting a blank shield within a border of twining tendrils. Amongst the leaves at the top are two shields with the mark of the printer and the arms of the city of Utrecht. Within the border, above the lions, a space is left in which the date of the book or the name of the owner may be inserted. HMT. 39 (29) 3.

14 Feb. 1480—Fasciculus temporum (C.A. 1479). Utrecht, Veldener.

This device was used again at Kuilenburg with the Utrecht arms cut out. HMT. 116 (35) 2 b.

6. Folio border in four pieces, HMT. 40 (24).

14 Feb. 1480—Fasciculus temporum (CA. 1479). Utrecht, Veldener.
12 Sept. 1480—Passionael, Vols I. and II. (CA. 1757). ,, ,,

7. A set of additional cuts for the Dutch *Fasciculus Temporum;* most of them are copied, in a general sense, from some of the cuts in the *Rudimentum noviciorum* (Lucas Brandis, Lübeck, 1475, fol.). The whole series appear in A.

A. 14 Feb. 1480—Fasciculus temporum (CA. 1479). Utrecht, Veldener.
B. 19 April 1481—Epistolen ende ewangelien (CA. 690). ,, ,,
C. 27 Sept. 1483—Spieghel onser behoudenisse (CA. 1573). Kuilenburg, ,,

1. The Creation—square 8vo cut (B).
2. Moses with the Tables of Stone—8vo cut (C).
3. The Ark of the Covenant, copied from the Speculum.
4. The Golden Candlestick, copied from the Speculum.
5. The building of Rome—8vo cut.
6. The storming of a town—8vo cut.
7. The taking of Babylon—8vo cut.
8. The Temple—a small square cut.
9. Jerusalem rebuilt—8vo cut.
10. Jerusalem—square 4to cut.

11. St Peter at the Gate of Heaven—folio cut.
12. The fortress Antonina—small square cut.
13. A set of coats of arms for the Chronicles printed at the end of the Dutch *Fasciculus Temporum.*

8. Representation of the martyrdoms of several saints—a folio cut. Afterwards copied for Peter van Os by the first Zwolle cutter (Sect. xvii. 9).

12 Sept. 1480—Passionael (CA. 1757). Utrecht, Veldener.

9. A set of 39 octavo cuts for the Epistles and Gospels.

19 April 1481—Epistolen ende ewangelien (C.A. 690). Utrecht, Veldener.

1. The Fall, HMT. 116 (35) 5 *a*.
2. The Expulsion from Eden, HMT. 116 (35) 5 *b*.
3. The Annunciation.
4. The Visitation.
5. The Nativity.
6. The Flight into Egypt.
7. The Circumcision.
8. Christ among the Doctors.
9. The Entry into Jerusalem.
10. The Last Supper.
11. Christ washing the disciples' feet.
12. The Agony in the Garden.
13. The Betrayal.
14. Christ before Annas.
15. Christ falling under a blow.
16. Christ before Caiaphas.
17. Christ buffeted by three soldiers.
18. Christ before Pilate.
19. Pilate washing his hands.
20. Christ scourged.
21. Christ crowned with thorns.
22. *Ecce Homo.*
23. Christ smitten in the presence of the Virgin and St John.
24. Christ bearing his Cross.
25. Christ nailed to the Cross.
26. The Blessed Virgin and St John at the foot of the Cross.
27. The Descent from the Cross.
28. The Entombment.
29. The *Pietà.*
30. Christ at the Gate of Hades.
31. The three Maries at the Tomb of Christ.

32. The Resurrection.
33. The Supper at Emmaus.
34. Christ as the Gardener.
35. Thomas convinced.
36. The Ascension.
37. Pentecost.
38. The Death of the Blessed Virgin.
39. The Last Judgment.

10. Twelve additional cuts for the *Speculum*, uniform with the severed portions of the old blocks (Sect. iii.).

27 Sept. 1483—Spieghel (CA. 1573). Kuilenburg, Veldener.

The cuts are:

1. Christ on the Cross, HMT. 115 (34) 2 *b*.
2. Michal deriding David as he plays his harp.
3. The Death of Absalom.
4. Evilmerodach cutting up the body of the King his father.
5. The four distinctions in Hell.
6. The three holy Children in the furnace.
7. Daniel in the Lions' Den.
8. The Ostrich liberating her young.
9. Christ at the mouth of Hades.
10. Bananias slaying a lion with a spear.
11. Sampson slaying a lion.
12. The murder of Eglon.

11. Veldener's third device, consisting of the shields of Austria, Kuilenburg, and David of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht.

27 Sept. 1483—Spieghel (CA. 1573). Kuilenburg, Veldener.

12. A series of 150 cuts for a Herbarius.

A.	1484—Kruidboeck in dietsche (CA. 918).	Kuilenburg, Veldener.
B.	after A.—Herbarius in latino (CA. 916).	No place ,,
C.	about 1486—Herbarius in latino (CA. 917).	Printer of *Matheolus*.

A set of cuts of plants, numbering 150, occur in these three editions of the Herbarius. They are careful copies in reverse from a series in the edition of the same book printed in 1484 at Mainz by Peter Schoeffher. The blocks used for *Abrotanum* and *Edera terrestris* are exceptions to this rule. The names in the following list are those printed under the cuts.

1. Absintheum.
2. Abrotanum.
3. Altea.
4. Acorus.
5. Acetosa, HMT. 116 (35) 3.
6. Agrimonia.
7. Alleum.
8. Alkakenge.
9. Ameos.
10. Anetum.
11. Apium.
12. Arthimesia.
13. Aristologia longa.
14. Aristologia rotunda.
15. Asarum.
16. Atriplex.
17. Aaron.
18. Auricula muris.
19. Aruoglossa.
20. Ambrosiana.
21. Assodillus.
22. Agnus castus.
23. Borago.
24. Buglossa.
25. Betonica.
26. Branca ursina.
27. Bleta.
28. Bursa pastoris.
29. Berberus.
30. Baselicon.
31. Brionia.
32. Cicoria.
33. Calamentum.
34. Centaurea.
35. Curtamus.
36. Cinoglossa.
37. Camomilla.
38. Camepitheos.
39. Capillus.
40. Cepe.
41. Coriandrum.
42. Custuta.
43. Ciperus.
44. Celidonia.
45. Cathapucia.
46. Cucumer.
47. Calamus silvestris.
48. Canapus.
49. Daucus.
50. Diptamus.
51. Esula minor.
52. Endivia.
53. Eupatorium.
54. Enula.
55. Epatica.
56. Elleborus albus.
57. Elleborus niger.
58. Ebulus.
59. Edera terrestris.
60. Edera arborea.
61. Fumus terræ.
62. Feniculus.
63. Fragaria.
64. Fraxinus.
65. Grana solis.
66. Galletricum.
67. Gariofillata.
68. Genciana.
69. Genesta.
70. Gramen.
71. Hermodattulus, HMT. 116 (35) 2 a.
72. Jusquiamus.
73. Isopus.
74. Iris.
75. Juniperus.
76. Iringus.
77. Lilium.
78. Lupulus.
79. Lappacium acutum.
80. Lactuca.
81. Levisticus.
82. Lavendula.
83. Laureola.
84. Mellissa.
85. Mellisolium.
86. Malua.
87. Menta.
88. Mellilotum.
89. Matricaria.
90. Maiorana.
91. Marubium.

92. Mora celsi.
93. Mercurialis.
94. Mandragora.
95. Nasturcium.
96. Nasturcium aquaticum.
97. Nigella.
98. Nenufar.
99. Origanum.
100. Piretrum.
101. Pionia.
102. Petrosilinum.
103. Polipodium.
104. Paritaria.
105. Portulaca.
106. Polegium.
107. Porrum.
108. Pentassilon.
109. Pipinella.
110. Papaver.
111. Populus.
112. Pastinaca silvestris.
113. Pastinaca domestica.
114. Rosa.
115. Russanus.
116. Radix.
117. Ruta.
118. Ros marinus.
119. Rapa.
120. Ribes.
121. Rubea tinctorum.
122. Solatrum.
123. Spinachia.
124. Siler montanum.
125. Sinapis.
126. Squinantum.
127. Serpentaria.
128. Satirion.
129. Scicados citrinum.
130. Scicados arabicum.
131. Spargus.
132. Savina.
133. Semper viva.
134. Squilla.
135. Sambucus.
136. Salix.
137. Saxifraga.
138. Scolopendria.
139. Scabiosa.
140. Salvia.
141. Spicanardus.
142. Spica celtica.
143. Serpillum.
144. Taxus barbatus.
145. Tormentilla.
146. Viola.
147. Virga pastoris.
148. Urtica.
149. Valeriana.
150. Usnea.

SECT. 7. *The Bruges Woodcutter* (1484).

A set of 17 quarto cuts of Gods and Goddesses and 17 square folio cuts of stories to illustrate Ovid's Metamorphoses.

A. May 1484—Ovid's Metamorphoses (CA. 1348). Bruges, Colard Mansion.
B[1]. 1484-85—Ovid's Metamorphoses (CA. 1348 note). ,, Mansion's Successor.

Quarto cuts.

1. Jupiter enthroned.
2. Mars.

[1] The woodcut which should be upon the verso of leaf 274 is omitted in B.

3. Apollo.
4. Venus.
5. Mercury.
6. Diana.
7. Minerva.
8. Juno.
9. Cibele.
10. Neptune.
11. Pan.
12. Bacchus.
13. Pluto.
14. Vulcan.
15. Hercules.
16. Æsculapius.
17. Laomedon, Phœbus, and Neptune.

Square folio cuts.

18. The birth of Venus.
19. The felled Tree and the uses made of it.
20. The birth of the Gods.
21. Apollo on his throne.
22. The foundation of Thebes.
23. The death of Thisbe and Pyramus.
24. The marriage of Perseus.
25. Arachne and Pallas.
26. Jason and the Argo.
27. Minos and the daughter of Nisus.
28. Theseus and the Minotaur.
29. Orpheus and Eurydice.
30. The death of Orpheus.
31. The rape of Helen, HMT. 60 (131) *b* 3.
32. The armour of Achilles.
33. The love of Glaucus.
34. The building of Rome.

SECT. 8. *The First Gouda Woodcutter* (1480—1484).

1. Leeu's first device. Two shields, the l. bearing the arms of Gouda, the r. the mark of the printer, HMT. 68 (53) 1, 2, 3. The initials G L are sometimes printed below.

10 May 1478—Passionael, Winterstuc (CA. 1755). Gouda, G. Leeu.

2. A set of 121 cuts made to illustrate the *Dialogus creaturarum.*

A. 3 June 1480—Dyalogus creaturarum (CA. 560).	Gouda,	G. Leeu.
B. 4 April 1481—Twispraec der creaturen (CA. 565).	,,	,,
C. 6 June 1481—Dyalogus creaturarum (CA. 561).	,,	,,
D. 20 April 1482—Dyalogue des creatures (CA. 570).	,,	,,
E. 23 June 1482—Twispraec der creaturen (CA. 566).	,,	,,
F. 31 Aug. 1482—Dyalogus creaturarum (CA. 562).	,,	,,
G. 11 Dec. 1486—Dijalogus creaturarum (CA. 563).	Antwerp,	,,
H. 2 Nov. 1488—Twispraec der creaturen (CA. 568).	Delft,	Snellaert.
I. 11 April 1491—Dyalogus creaturarum (CA. 564).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.

The size of the cuts is usually about 4 × 2 inches. Every cut occurs in all editions unless otherwise stated.

1. The Sun and Moon, the whole page being surrounded by a border (except in D, G, H, and I), HMT. 70 (56). The cut is used by Peter van Os at Zwolle in a *Computi elucidatio* printed in 1502.
2. The Planet Saturn and the Cloud.
3. The Pole Star.
4. The Morning and Evening Stars.
5. The Rainbow and the sign of Cancer.
6. Heaven and Earth.
7. The Air and the Wind.
8. The Shore and the Sea.

9, 10, 11. Fire and Water. This cut is in two compartments. After the sheets on which it occurs had been struck off in the first edition, the block was divided into two parts which are immediately used again separately. These severed portions appear side by side, in their original position, in the second and following editions of the book.

12. The River and the Sea.
13. Hills and Valleys.
14. Gems and precious stones.
15. The Emerald and the Ring.
16. The Sapphire and the Goldsmith.
17. The precious Topaz, set in a cross.
18. The Carbuncle and the Mirror.
19. The Agate and Cerastes.
20. Two Metals. In ABCDF this cut is repeated here three times; in E and G and the later editions there appears a new cut in addition, by the Second Gouda Cutter (Sect. ix. 1).
21. Tin and Brass.
22. The Lock and Key.
23. The Bucket and Hook.
24. The Rosemary in a Field.
25. The Rue and Reptiles.
26. Mercury and the Hyssop.
27. The Abrotanum and the Hare.
28. The Plantain and the Ape.
29. The Verbena and the Wolf.

30. Venus and the Mandragora.
31. The Rose and the Partridge.
32. The Rampnus and the Wild-goat.
33. The Myrtle and the Woman (wanting in D).
34. The Cedars of Lebanon.
35. The Tree with leaves and the Tree that had none.
36. The Dolphin and the Eel.
37. The Syren.
38. The greedy Ventus marinus.
39. The Fisherman with his net.
40. The Basilisk and the Fish.
41. The Sturgeon and the Sea-calf.
42. The Lamprey and the Crocodile.
43. The Fisherman with his rod.
44. The Regina and the Ydrus.
45. The Carp and the Trimallus.
46. The Frog and the Crab.
47. The Fisherman with the little fish.
48. The Eagle and the Lion with birds and beasts.
49. The Eagle addressing the birds, HMT. 103 (58) *c* 1.
50. The Herodius and the Milvus.
51. The Eagle and the Crane.
52. The Sterla and the Hare.
53. The Strucyon and the Surgeon.
54. The Falcon and the Cock.
55. The Astur who sent to the Caradrius.
56. Two Hawks and a Quail (wanting in D).
57. The religious Carflaucus.
58. The Lapwing and the Popinjay.
59. The Hen and the Dove.
60. The Cock and the Capon.
61. The Pheasant and the Peacock.
62. The Raven and the Ficedula.
63. The Owl and the Lark.
64. The Wagtail and the Pheasant.
65. The Nightingale and Crow with other birds.
66. The Ciconia and the Swallow.
67. The Pigardus and the Alietus.
68. The Onocrotalus and the Ass.
69. The Swan and the Crow.
70. The Ornyx and the Hen.
71. The Quail and the Lark.
72. The Ison.
73. The Diver.
74. The Carduellus.
75. The unclean Ibex and the Apothecary.

76. The solitary Pelican.
77. The chaste Turtle.
78. The thievish Partridge.
79. The Fowler.
80. The Kite and the Woodhen's young.
81. The Owl who wished to be King.
82. Landbirds and Waterfowl.
83. The Rustic and the Bees.
84. The Lion that fought the Eagle.
85. The Lion and his two whelps.
86. The tyrant Griffin.
87. The Leopard and Unicorn fighting a Dragon.
88. The Elephant.
89. The Satyr who took a wife.
90. The Dromedary.
91. The Lion that built an abbey.
92. The Onocentaurus that built a palace.
93. The Rhinoceros and the Old Man.
94. The Old Man and the Goat.
95. The Labourer (wanting in B).
96. The Ape that wrote books.
97. The Camelopard.
98. The sailor-bird Laurus.
99. The hunting Lion.
100. The Tragelaphus who was a bad builder.
101. The cobbler Bubalus.
102. The Steer who was a good cook.
103. The Capriolus.
104. The lawyer Hare, HMT. 103 (58) *c* 2.
105. The Dog and the Wolves.
106. The Wolf and the Ass.
107. The Bear and the Wolf.
108. The Wild-goat and the Wolf (wanting in H).
109. The Weasel and the Squirrel.
110. The Horse and the Boar.
111. The Ass and the Ox.
112. The Goat and the Ram.
113. The Panther and the Hog.
114. The Wild-ass and the Boar.
115. The Salamander and the Idrus.
116. The Ape and the Taxus.
117. The Cat and the Mice.
118. The Wolf and the Lambs.
119. Beasts and Reptiles (wanting in H and I).
120. Man and Woman.
121. Life and Death.

3. Leeu's second device. Under a round arch two Lions support the shield of the Archduke Maximilian. In the l. spandril is the shield of Gouda, in the r. is a shield with Leeu's mark.—quarto cut, HMT. 68 (53) 4. It strongly resembles Veldener's second device. It appears first in

3 June 1480—Dialogus creaturarum (CA. 560). Gouda, G. Leeu.

4. A set of 4 square quarto cuts of the Four Last Things, found in both the following,

1481–1482—Quatre dernières choses (CA. 586). Audenarde, A. de Keysere.
23 Aug. 1482—Vier uterste (CA. 1316). Gouda, G. Leeu.

1. Death. A lean figure with a scythe mowing a piece of ground, on which, on the r., five men of different ages and conditions are standing.

2. The Last Judgment. Christ is seated on the rainbow, two angels blow trumpets, the trumpet of the one on the r. being twisted. Four persons rise from their graves below.

3. The Mouth of Hell. It opens on the l., several persons being visible in the flames within. A devil is seated on the nose, blowing a trumpet.

4. Heaven. The Blessed are received by St Peter and two angels at the gate which opens on the r., HMT. 95 (98) *b* 2.

5. A set of 4 square quarto cuts, made to illustrate the story of the Seven Wise Men. They all appear both in A[1] and B.

A. before B—Historie van die seuen wise mannen (CA. 952). Gouda, G. de Os.
B. about 1482—Historia septem sapientum (CA. 947). „ G. Leeu.

1. The Emperor Diocletian commending his son to the Seven Wise Men. He is seated on his throne on the l. with the Empress standing by him. The Prince stands in front, the Seven Wise men on the r.

2. The Empress accusing the Prince to the Emperor. He is seated listening to her as she stands before him on the r.

3. The Prince defended by one of the Wise Men before the Emperor. The Wise Master, over whose head is a scroll with his name printed in moveable type within it, stands on the l. before the Emperor.

4. The Speech of the Prince after his acquittal. The Emperor is seated on the l., the Empress standing by on his l. hand. The Prince stands in front, before the Wise Men, addressing him.

[1] The only known copy of A is imperfect, but there is no doubt the first cut appeared there along with the rest.

6. A set of 10 cuts, probably all intended to illustrate the *Gesta Romanorum.* All are folios unless otherwise stated.

A. 30 Apr. 1481—Gesten van Romen (CA. 826).	Gouda, G. Leeu.
B. 26 May 1484—Gesten der Romeynen (CA. 828).	Zwolle, P. van Os.
C. 21 July 1485—Sielentroest (CA. 1547).	,, ,,

1. The Daughter of the Emperor Pompey. Five soldiers lie asleep round a castle gate, from a window in which on the r. a girl escapes by the aid of her lover, who stands below (AB. Chap. 1).

2. The man who took service under an Emperor. Below on the l. is a man knocking at a door. On the r. is a boat near the shore where a man is standing by a fire. Above on the r. is a king seated, his cup-bearer standing before him. On the l. are four men (B. Chap. 17).

3. The Sin and Penitence of Julian. He stands on the r. near a stag. On the l. he is seen in a room slaying his parents in bed. Above on the r. is a hospital founded by him near a ford, over which he is carrying a sick man (AB. Chap. 18, C).

4. The Emperor Conrad. He stands by his horse near a gate; on the r. his page receives a babe which, in the mid. of the cut, he is seen placing in a tree. A Duke riding to the r. finds the child. In the mid. above, a priest is seen marrying two people (AB. Chap. 20).

5. The disputed Inheritance. Three sons stand on the l. shooting at the dead body of their father. The fourth son kneels before the king, his bow and arrow on the ground by his side—half-fol. cut (AB. Chap. 45).

6. The Children of the Emperor Marcus. Below are seen the interiors of two rooms, in the l. the dying Emperor lies in bed, in the r. are the two children also in bed. Above on the l. are some monks finding a child floating in a box, on the r. are two men fighting. At the top on the l. is a marriage and on the r. a woman confessing to the Pope (AB. Chap. 81, C).

7. The three Maxims. Below, the interiors of two rooms are seen, in the l. a merchant with his paper of maxims stands before the table of the Emperor, in the r. the Emperor is being shaved. Above on the l. he is seen riding along a highway, and on the r. he is turning away from the door of a house (AB. Chap. 103—in both cases misprinted cxxx.).

8. The buried Palace. In four compartments. In the upper l. is a man digging at the base of an image; in the lower l. he is standing in the banquet-hall of the Palace. In the lower r. he is standing in the women's apartment; in the upper r. as he puts some things into his cloak an archer discharges an arrow and breaks a jewel in the wall, HMT. 93 (84) *a* (B. Chap. 107, C).

9. The Conversion and History of St Eustace. On the r. he kneels before a stag with a crucifix between its horns. On the l. he prepares to

embark in a ship with his wife and children. Above he is seen in the mid. of a river, his children being carried off by wild beasts on the banks. At the top he is seen meeting his family again and they are all martyred together by roasting in a brazen bull (AB. Chap. 110).

10. The Hermit who witnessed a murder (C).

SECT. 9. *The Second Gouda Woodcutter* (1482—1484).

1. A cut representing two Metal Bars, made to take the place of no. 20 in the *Dialogus* series (Sect. viii. 2).

23 June 1482—Twispraec der creaturen (CA. 566).	Gouda,	G. Leeu.
11 Dec. 1486—Dialogus creaturarum (CA. 563).	Antwerp,	,,
2 Nov. 1488—Twispraec der creaturen (CA. 568).	Delft,	Snellaert.
11 Apr. 1491—Dialogus creaturarum (CA. 564).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.

2. A set of 68 quarto cuts made for a *Devote Ghetiden*, the first edition of which has probably been lost.

A. 29 July 1482—Liden ons Heren (CA. 1156).	Gouda,	G. Leeu.
B. about 1482—Six sheets of Cuts and Verses (CA. 746).	,,	,,
C. 10 Dec. 1483—Lijden ons Heeren (CA. 1157).	Haarlem,	Bellaert.
D. 23 June 1484—Epistelen ende Evangelien (CA. 693).	Gouda,	G. de Os.
E. about 1484—Devote ghetiden (CA. 1115).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.
F. 18 Sept. 1484—Gemmula vocabulorum (CA. 787).	,,	,,
G. 28 Jan. 1485—De modo confitendi (CA. 1129).	,,	,,
H. 9 July 1485—Liden ons Heeren (CA. 1159).	,,	,,
K. after H.—Liden ons Heeren (not in CA.).	,,	,,
L. about 1485—Seven corte Ghetiden[1] (not in CA.).	,,	,,
M. 28 Jan. 1486—De modo confitendi (CA. 1130).	,,	,,
N. 23 Aug. 1486—Gemmula vocabulorum (CA. 788).	,,	,,
O. 23 Oct. 1486—De modo confitendi (CA. 1131).	,,	,,
P. 17 Mar. 1487—De modo confitendi (CA. 1133).	,,	,,
Q. 2 Aug. 1487—Speculum sermonum (CA. 1576).	,,	,,
R. 3 Nov. 1487—Ludolphus (CA. 1181).	,,	,,
S. about 1487—Bernardi tractatus (CA. 281).	,,	,,
T. 15 Apr. 1488—Die vier uterste (CA. 1320).	,,	,,
V. 19 May 1488—Gemmula vocabulorum (CA. 790).	,,	,,
W. 20 Nov. 1488—Ludolphus (CA. 1183).	,,	C. Leeu.
X. 1 Sept. 1490—Liden ons Heeren (CA. 1164).	,,	G. Leeu.
a. 18 Nov. 1490—Passionael, Vol. I. (CA. 1766).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.
b. 1 Mar. 1493—Epistolen ende Euangelien (CA. 703).	Deventer,	J. de Breda.

[1] Containing about 32 of the series, but I have not seen the book.

c.	30 May 1493—Gemmula vocabulorum (CA. 795).	Deventer, J. de Breda.
d.	27 May 1495—S. Bernardus. Sermonen (CA. 276).	Zwolle, P. van Os.
e.	20 Nov. 1495—Ludolphus (CA. 1184).	,, ,,
f.	4 Mar. 1496—Epistelen ende evangelien (CA. 705).	Deventer, J. de Breda.
g.	10 June 1496—Leven van Liedwy (CA. 1125).	Gouda, Collacie Broed.
h.	3 Oct. 1496—Devote Getijden (CA. 1116).	,, ,,
k.	about 1499—Quattuor novissima (not in CA.).	Deventer, J. de Breda.
l.	15 Oct. 1510—Ludolphus.	Antwerp, A. v. Berghen.

1. The Formation of Eve (Ehl).
2. The betrothal of Adam and Eve (Eh).
3. The Tree of Knowledge (Eh).
4. The Fall (BERWeh).
5. The Expulsion from Eden (BERWeh).
6. The Presentation of the Virgin (ERWehl).
7. The Marriage of the Virgin (Eh).
8. The Annunciation (BDEQRSWdehl).
9. The Visitation (BDERWdeh).
10. The Nativity (BDERWdeh).
11. The Circumcision (BDERWadeh).
12. The Three Kings (BDERWdehl).
13. The Presentation (BDERWadehl).
14. The Flight into Egypt (BERWehl).
15. The Murder of the Innocents (DERWeh).
16. Christ among the Doctors (DEFNRVWehl).
17. The Baptism of Christ (DEh).
18. The Temptation (DERWehl).
19. The Marriage at Cana (DERWehl).
20. Christ disputing in the Temple (ACEHXhl).
21. The Woman of Samaria (ERWehl).
22. The Supper at Simon's (ACDERWehl).
23. The Raising of Lazarus—HMT. 98 (65) *b* (ACDEHRWXehl).
24. The Entry into Jerusalem (ABCDERWbcfl).
25. Christ cleansing the Temple (ACEHRWXehl).
26. The Last Supper (ABCDEHRWXeh).
27. Christ washing feet (ABCERWeh).
28. The Agony in the Garden (ABCEHKRWXeh).
29. The Betrayal (ABCERWeh).
30. The Amazement (ACERWehl).
31. Christ before Annas (ACEHKRWXeh).
32. Christ before Caiaphas (ABCEHKRWehl).
33. Christ blindfolded (ABCERWeh).
34. Christ before Pilate (ACERWehl).
35. Christ before Herod (ACEHKRWXeh).
36. The Scourging (ABCEHKRWXehl).
37. The Crowning with Thorns (ABCERWeh).

38. 'Ecce Homo' (ABCEHKRWXeh).
39. Pilate washing his hands (ABCEHKRWXehl).
40. Christ bearing his Cross (ABCEHRWXeh).
41. Christ stripped of his raiment (ERWehl).
42. Christ nailed to the Cross (ACEHKRWXeh).
43. The Elevation of the Cross (ERWXehl).
44. Mary and John by the Cross—HMT. 71 (54) 3 *a* (ABCEHKRWeh).
45. Longinus (DERWehk).
46. The Descent from the Cross (ABCEHKRWXeh).
47. The Entombment (ABCEHKRWXeh).
48. The Descent to Hades (ABCERWXehkl).
49. The Resurrection (ABCDERWaeh).
50. The three Maries at the Tomb (ABCDEHKRWXeh).
51. Christ as the Gardener (ABCERWXeh).
52. Emmaus (ABCDEHKRWXeh).
53. Thomas convinced:
    1st state, a tree seen through a window on the l. (ABCEH).
    2nd state, the window blank (KRWXeh).
54. Christ appearing to the disciples (DEhl).
55. The Ascension (ABCDERWehl).
56. Pentecost (ABCDERWaeh).
57. The Assumption (Eah).
58. Death (BETh).
59. The Trinity (Eh).
60. The Mass of S. Gregory (Eh).
61. The Last Judgment (BDERTWehl).
62. Hell (BETh).
63. God's gifts to Men (Eh).
64. The Image of Pity (DE).
65. S. Veronica (Eh).
66. Confession (EGMOPh).
67. Heaven (BETh).
68. The Winepress—HMT. 80 (101) *a* 2 (EHXgh).

3. A set of 16mo cuts, the majority of which seem to have been intended to illustrate a Rosary.

A.	9 Mar. 1484—Rosencransken (CA. 762).	Gouda, G. Leeu.
B.[1]	about 1484—Quodlibet de veritate (CA. 759).	,, ,,
D.	about 1484—Horarium Trajectense (CA. 993).	,, ,,
E.	10 Feb. 1485—Jordani Meditationes (CA. 1046).	Antwerp, ,,
F.	9 July 1485—Liden ons Heeren (CA. 1159).	,, ,,
G.	after F.—Liden ons Heeren (not in CA.).	,, ,,
H.	20 Oct. 1485—Kerstenen Spieghel (CA. 597).	,, ,,

[1] Of this edition there were two issues, B_1 and B_2.

I.	5 Jan. 1487—Jordanus, Meditacien (CA. 1051).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.
K.	31 Jan. 1487—Psalterium (CA. 541).	,,	,,
L.	25 July 1487—Jordani Meditationes (CA. 1047).	,,	,,
M.	17 Dec. 1487—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 339).	,,	C. Leeu.
N.	1487—Rosarium (CA. 1481, 1482).	,,	G. Leeu.
O.	16 Feb. 1488—Kintscheijt ihesu (CA. 1074).	,,	,,
P.	11 Mar. 1488—Spiegel der volcomenheijt (CA. 1577).	,,	,,
Q.	16 Mar. 1488—Spieghel der sondaren (CA. 591).	,,	,,
R.	20 Nov. 1488—Jordani Meditationes (CA. 1048).	,,	,,
S.	26 Nov. 1489—Speculum rosariorum (CA. 1574).	,,	,,
T.	1 Sept. 1490—Liden ons Heeren (CA. 1164).	,,	,,
V.	21 June 1491—Revelacien van S. Birgitten (CA. 382).	,,	,,
W.	11 July 1491—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 339a).	,,	,,
X.	10 Nov. 1491—Jordani Meditationes (CA. 1050).	,,	,,
Y.	3 Dec. 1492—Exercitium de via purgativa (CA. 581).	,,	,,
Z.	about 1492—Sarum Horae (not in CA.).	,,	,,
a.	1493-1495—Boeck van den Echten Staete (CA. 724).	Deventer,	Paffraet.
b.	1494—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 341).	Antwerp,	Liesveldt.
c.	about 1494—Die hondert Articulen (CA. 187).	,,	,,
d.	13 June 1495—Horarium Trajectense (CA. 990).	,,	,,
e.	8 Aug. 1496—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 342).	,,	,,
f.	7 April 1497—Vier oeffeningen (CA. 343).	,,	,,
g.	6 Nov. 1499—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 344).	,,	,,
h.	about 1500—Van onser salicheit (CA. 469).	,,	,,
k.	about 1500—Marien rosencrans (CA. 1212).	Unknown printer.	

1. The Formation of Eve (a).
2. The Presentation of the Virgin (V).
3. The Marriage of the Virgin (V).
4. The Annunciation (DN).
5. The Visitation (N).
6. The Virgin visiting Elizabeth (V).
7. The Nativity (NOV).
8. The Child in the manger (N).
9. *Gloria in excelsis* (N).
10. The Adoration of the Shepherds (N).
11. The Circumcision (NV).
12. The Three Kings (N).
13. The Presentation (N).
14. The Flight into Egypt (NV).
15. Christ among the Doctors (N).
16. Home life at Nazareth (N).
17. The Baptism of Christ (NV).
18. The Temptation (N).
19. The Marriage at Cana (N).
20. Christ healing the sick (N).
21. The Raising of Lazarus (N).

22. The Supper at Bethany (FNT).
23. The Entry into Jerusalem (FTV).
24. The Last Supper (FNT).
25. Christ washing the Disciples' feet (FT).
26. The Agony in the Garden (EILRVXZc).
27. The Betrayal (EFGILRX).
28. The Amazement (FGT).
29. Christ before Annas (EILNRVX).
30. Christ before Caiaphas (EILRX).
31. Christ blindfolded (EFGILRTX).
32. Christ before Pilate (EFILNRTVX).
33. Christ before Herod (EGILNRX).
34. Christ stripped (EILRX).
35. Christ scourged (EILNRVX).
36. Christ mocked (EILNRX).
37. '*Ecce Homo*' (EILRX).
38. Pilate washing his hands (EILNRX).
39. Christ bearing his Cross (EILRX).
40. The preparation of the Cross (EILRX).
41. Christ nailed to the Cross (EILNRX).
42. The Elevation of the Cross (EILRX).
43. Christ crucified between two thieves (E,H (?), ILNRXch).
44. Christ mocked on the Cross (EILNX).
45. The Centurion's confession (EILNRXk).
46. The Virgin commended to S. John (EILNRVXc).
47. The Sponge given to Christ (EILNRX).
48. The Virgin and S. John by the Cross (EILNPRXc).
49. Longinus (EILNRVXc).
50. The Descent from the Cross (EILNRVX).
51. The Entombment (EILNRVX).
52. The Descent to Hades (EFGILNRX).
53. The Resurrection (EFGILNRTVX).
54. Christ as the Gardener (FG).
55. Christ appearing to the Disciples (N).
56. The Ascension (FGNTV).
57. Pentecost (FGNTV).
58. The Assumption (N).
59. A Rosary with a large Heart pierced on the l. (AB_1N).
60. A Rosary with a smaller Heart pierced on the l. (B_2NQS).
61. A Rosary with the Heart pierced on the r. (N).
62. Death (EILMWYefg).
63. Judgment, angels blowing trumpets (DELNRWXYef).
64. Judgment, with sword and lily (M).
65. Hell—'*Nobis*' (EILMWXYefg).
66. Heaven (EILMRWXYefg).
67. The Trinity (N).

68. The Image of Pity (EILPRXYc).
69. The Mass of S. Gregory (EILNPRSX).
70. S. Veronica (Pd).
71. The Winepress (IL).
72. God's gifts to man (EILRXY).
73. Confession (IY).
74. The Ark carried into the Temple (K).
75. The Vigils of the Dead (Da).

4. A set of seven quarto cuts and a side-piece, to illustrate the Seven Sacraments.

A. 19 June 1484—Van den Seven Sacramenten (CA. 1492). Gouda, G. Leeu.
B. 1 Mar. 1485—Cato moralissimus (CA. 406). Antwerp, ,,

1. Baptism—HMT. 71 (54) 4 *a* (A).
2. Confession (A).
3. Mass (A).
4. Confirmation (A).
5. Extreme Unction (A).
6. Ordination (A).
7. Marriage (A).
8. A Teacher and Scholar—side-piece, HMT. 71 (54) 4 *a* (AB).

5. A large octavo border in one piece for a 16mo cut; it is composed of tendrils and flowers cut out of a black ground.

A. about 1484—Devote ghetiden (CA. 1115). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
B. 3 Oct. 1496—Devote getijden (CA. 1116). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

6. The Virgin and Child on the crescent surrounded by stars (15 on the l. 22 on the r.)—16mo cut.

A. about 1484—Devote ghetiden (CA. 1115). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
B. 5 Jan. 1487—Jordanus, Meditacien (CA. 1051). ,, ,,
C. 3 Oct. 1496—Devote getijden (CA. 1116). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

SECT. 10. *The First Antwerp Woodcutter* (1485—1491).

1. A set of 16mo cuts made to complete the set by the Second Gouda Woodcutter (Sect. ix. 3).

B. 10 Feb. 1485—Jordani Meditationes (CA. 1046). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
C. 9 July 1485—Liden ons Heeren (CA. 1159). ,, ,,
D. after C.—Liden ons Heeren (not in CA). ,, ,,
E. 5 Jan. 1487—Jordanus, Meditacien (CA. 1051). ,, ,,
F. 25 July 1487—Jordani Meditationes (CA. 1047). ,, ,,
G. 1487—Rosarium (CA. 1481, 1482). ,, ,,

H. 20 Nov. 1488—Jordani Meditationes (CA. 1048). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
I. 1 Sept. 1490—Liden ons Heeren (CA. 1164). ,, ,,
K. 10 Nov. 1491—Jordani Meditationes (CA. 1050). ,, ,,
L. about 1494—Die hondert Articulen (CA. 187). ,, Liesveldt.

1. The Angel ministering to Christ in the Garden (BEFGHK).
2. Judas agrees to betray Christ (BEFHK).
3. Christ taken (BEFGHK).
4. Christ bound (BEFHK).
5. The disciples flee (BEFHK).
6. Peter's denial (BEFHK).
7. Christ smitten before the High Priest (BEFHK).
8. False witness given against Christ (BEFHK).
9. The High Priest rending his clothes (BEFHK).
10. Christ declared worthy of death (BEFHK).
11. Christ smitten (BEFHK).
12. Christ spat upon (BEFGHK).
13. Christ buffeted (BEFHK).
14. Christ falsely accused before Pilate (BEFHK).
15. Christ derided before Herod (BEFHK).
16. Christ accused before Herod (BEFHK).
17. Christ clothed in purple (BEFHK).
18. Christ crowned with thorns (BCDEFHIK).
19. Christ led to be condemned (BEFHK).
20. The Hall of Judgment (BEFHK).
21. The way to Calvary (BEFGHK).
22. Christ nailed to the cross (BEHK).
23. Lots cast for his garments (BEFHK).
24. Christ mocked on the cross (F).
25. Angels collect the Blood of Christ (BEFGHKL).
26. The mouth of Hell, seen from the front (H).
27. The Blessed Virgin nursing the child (GHK).

2. Leeu's quarto Device representing the Castle of Antwerp—HMT. 105 (60) and 46 (6) *e*. It was constantly used by him and after his death by Thierry Martens.

28 Jan. 1486—De modo confitendi (CA. 1130). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
15 June 1494—De septem doloribus BMV (CA. 760). ,, Martens.

3. A quarto cut representing a Master teaching Five Scholars.

2 June 1486—Cato moralissimus (CA. 407). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
14 June 1486—P. Hispani logicalia (CA. 1394). ,, ,,
22 Dec. 1486—English Vulgaria Terentii (CA. 1644). ,, ,,
20 April 1487—Dutch Vulgaria Terentii (CA. 1637). ,, ,,
30 Oct. 1487—Cato moralissimus (CA. 408). ,, ,,
1487—Tractatus de arte loquendi (CA. 65). ,, ,,

4. A quarto cut representing a Master and Scholar near a Tree.

14 June 1486—P. Hispani logicalia (CA. 1394). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

5. The Coronation of Maximilian—a quarto cut, reproduced in the *Messager des Sciences de Belgique*, 1849, p. 17.

1486—Electie des roemsschen coninc̃s (CA. 659). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

6. A set of folio and half-folio cuts illustrative of the Bible, many of them being copies from cuts in the Cologne Bible (Quentel, 1478-79).

A. 3 Nov. 1487—Ludolphus (CA. 1181).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.
B. 20 Nov. 1488—Ludolphus (CA. 1183).	,,	C. Leeu.
C. 1 Sept. 1490—Passionael, Somerstuck (CA. 1766).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.
D. 20 Nov. 1495—Ludolphus (CA. 1184).	,,	,,
E. 6 Sept. 1496—Hystorie geheyten Sydrack (CA. 982).	Deventer,	J. de Breda.
F. 15 Mar. 1499—Ludolphus (CA. 1185).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.
P. 15 Oct. 1510—Ludolphus (containing the usual set).	Antwerp,	A. van Berghen.
Q. 20 Dec. 1513—Den Bibel in't corte ghetranslateert.	Antwerp,	Claes de Grave and Thomas v. d. Noot.
R. 8 May 1517—Historie van Seghelijn.	Antwerp,	Claes de Grave.
S. 28 June 1518—Den Bibel ghetranslateert.	,,	,,
T. 15 Mar. 1519—Ludolphus.	Zwolle,	P. van Os.
V. 5 May 1535—Den grooten Cathoon.	Antwerp,	Claes de Grave.

Folio cuts.

1. The Persons of the Dialogue, *Scriptura* and *Die mensche* (ABDEF).
2. The Creation of all things (ABDEFS).
3. God's commands to Adam and Eve (ABDF).
4. Christ teaching from a boat (ABDF).
5. The Centurion of Capernaum (ABDF).
6. The Good Samaritan (ABDF).
7. The Sower (ABDF).
8. *Piscina Probatica* (ABDF).
9. The King who made a supper (ABDF).
10. Blind Bartimaeus (ABDF).
11. Christ feeding the four thousand (ABDF).
12. Christ healing the man born blind (ABDF).
13. The Transfiguration (ABDF).
14. Christ before Caiaphas (copied from Schongauer's print), and Judas hanging himself (ABDF).
15. The Disciples preaching to all nations (ABDF).
16. The Death and Assumption of the Virgin (ABDF).
17. St John in the caldron, and at Patmos (S).

Scenes from the Apocalypse:

18. The four men on horseback (S).
19. The sealing of the elect (S).
20. The star falling from Heaven (S).
21. The man with one foot on the land and one on the sea (S).
22. The two witnesses (S).
23. The Beast with seven heads (S).
24. 'Put in thy sickle and reap' (S).

Half-folio cuts.

25. The Fall and Expulsion from Eden (EFPQV).
26. Adam and Eve hiding themselves (ABDF).
27. The Murder of Abel (QSV).
28. Noah's ark (Q).
29. Noah drunk with wine (V).
30. The building of the Tower of Babel (QS).
31. Abraham defeating King Chedorlaomer (QS).
32. Three angels appearing to Abraham (QS).
33. Abraham's Sacrifice (QSV).
34. Isaac deceived by Jacob (Q).
35. Jacob blessed by Isaac (S).
36. Joseph let down into the pit (QSV).
37. Joseph put in prison by Potiphar (QSV).
38. Pharaoh's dream of the kine (QSV).
39. Joseph's twelve brethren go to him in Egypt (QS).
40. The cup found in Benjamin's sack (QS).
41. Joseph presents his father and brethren to Pharaoh (QSV).
42. Jacob foretells the future of Israel (QSV).
43. The burial of Jacob (QV).
44. Pharaoh ordering all the new-born children of Israel to be slain (QS).
45. The finding of Moses (QS).
46. The Burning Bush (QS).
47. Moses turning his rod into a serpent before Pharaoh (QS).
48. The Plague of Frogs (QS).
49. The Plague of Flies (QS).
50. The Plague on the Beasts of Egypt (QS).
51. The Plague of Hail (QSV).
52. The Plague of Locusts (QS).
53. The Plague of Darkness (QS).
54. The Passover (QS).
55. Pharaoh and his host drowned in the Red Sea (QS).
56. The fall of Manna (QS).
57. Water brought out of a rock (QS).
58. The battle with Amalek (Q).
59. The grapes of Eshcol (S).

60. The tribe of Levi ordered to be set apart (QSV).
61. Moses receiving the tables of stone (QS).
62. The Golden Calf (QSV).
63. The Brazen Serpent (QS).
64. Korah, Dathan, and Abiram swallowed up (QS).
65. Balaam stopped by the Angel (QS).
66. Moses shown the Land of Promise (QS).
67. The burial of Moses (QS).
68. The walls of Jericho thrown down (QRS).
69. Joshua hanging five kings (QS).
70. Twenty-eight kings defeated by Joshua (QS).
71. Saul anointed by Samuel (QS).
72. David anointed by Samuel (QS).
73. David slaying Goliath (QSV).
74. Saul slaying himself, the Crown brought to David (QS).
75. David playing the Harp (QS).
76. David bringing the Ark to Jerusalem (QS).
77. Bathsheba seen by David (QSV).
78. Abner slain by Joab (V).
79. David chooses the sword of the Lord, Abner slain (QSV).
80. Absalom slain (QSV).
81. Solomon's Judgment (QSV).
82. Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (QS).
83. Elijah taken up to heaven (QSV).
84. The story of Tobias (QS).
85. Tobias and the fish (QS).
86. Tobias the elder restored to sight (QS).
87. The three holy Children in the fire (QSV).
88. Daniel in the Lions' Den (QSV).
89. Esther before King Ahasuerus (Q).
90. The troubles of Job (QSV).

91. St Joseph's rod budding (ABDF).
92. Nicodemus coming to Christ (ABDF).
93. Christ casting out a devil (ABDF).
94. The raising of the widow's son (ABDF).
95. The devils sent into the swine (ABDF).
96. Christ healing the sick (ABDF).
97. The Call of Matthew (ABDF).
98. Christ restoring Jairus' daughter (ABDF).
99. Christ healing two blind men (ABDF).
100. Mary Magdalene and Christ (ABDF).
101. Christ in the synagogue (ABDF).
102. The Murder of John Baptist (ABCDF).
103. Christ feeding the Five thousand (ABDF).
104. Peter walking on the water (ABDF).

105. *a.* People going away from Christ (ABDF); a narrower cut completed by one of the following:—
b. Christ standing preaching (A).
c. Christ seated preaching (BDF).
106. The disciples plucking ears of corn (ABDF).
107. Christ healing a withered arm (ABDF).
108. Christ's mother and his brethren (ABDF).
109. Christ as an arbitrator (ABDF).
110. Christ at table at Simon's (ABDF).
111. Christ curing the dropsy (ABDF).
112. Christ preaching (ABDF).
113. The woman taken in adultery (ABDF).
114. The Jews desirous of stoning Christ (ABDF).
115. People seated listening; like 105 *a*, requiring completion (ABDF).
116. Christ and the Pharisee (ABDF).
117. The Disciples eating with unwashen hands (ABDF).
118. The Canaanitish woman (ABDF).
119. Christ casting out a devil (ABDF).
120. Christ casting out a devil (ABDF).
121. The money in the mouth of the fish (ABDF).
122. The lost Sheep (ABDF).
123. The King demanding an account (ABDF).
124. Christ referred to on the question of Divorce (ABDF).
125. The rich young man (ABDF).
126. The labourers in the vineyard (ABDFV).
127. The King counting the cost (ABDF).
128. Lazarus in Abraham's bosom (ABDFV).
129. Christ healing ten lepers (ABDF).
130. A Samaritan rejects Christ (ABDF).
131. Zaccheus (ABDF).
132. The Fig-tree cursed (ABDF).
133. The tribute money (ABDFV).
134. The King who forgave his debtor (ABDF).
135. The Jews bargaining with Judas (ABDF).
136. Enoch and Elias in Paradise (ABDF).
137. The three Maries announcing the Resurrection to the Apostles (ABDF).
138. The Watch (ABDF).
139. The Draught of fishes (ABDF).
140. The death of Ananias (ABDF).

7. Extra miscellaneous cuts made for Ludolphus' Life of Christ.

A. 3 Nov. 1487—Ludolphus (CA. 1181). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
B. 20 Nov. 1488—Ludolphus (CA. 1183). ,, C. Leeu.

C. 20 Nov. 1495—Ludolphus (CA. 1184). Zwolle, P. van Os.
D. 15 March 1499—Ludolphus (CA. 1185). ,, ,,

1. The Blessed Virgin seated alone in her room after the Annunciation—an incomplete cut about 4to size (ABCD).
2. A rocky district with a castle on the left—narrow 4to (ABCD).
3. A similar cut, the castle on the right (ABCD).
4. Judas bargaining with the scribes—4to cut (A).
5. Thomas refuses to believe the disciples—narrow 4to cut (ABCD).
6. The monogram IHS—square 8vo cut (AB).

Side-pieces:

Architectural, the lower l. corner cut out (A).
A similar side-piece, the lower r. corner cut out (A).
A figure of a monk on the top of a pedestal, to the l. (ABCD).
A similar side-piece, the monk is to the r. (AB).

8. Leeu's octavo device, a Lion within a trefoil niche holding the shield of Antwerp and one bearing the mark of the printer—HMT. 105 (60) and 106 (62). It is first used in

3 Nov. 1487—Ludolphus (CA. 1181). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

9. An angel dictating to S. Birgitta—16mo cut.

3 March 1489—Opusculum S. Birgittae (CA. 380). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
21 June 1491—Revelacien van S. Birgitten (CA. 382). ,, ,,

10. The young Prince's speech—quarto cut, made to replace No. 11 in the series by the Haarlem Cutter, representing the History of the Seven Wise Masters (Sect. xii. 9; compare Sect. viii. 5, no. 4, and Sect. xxi. 2, no. 4).

6 Nov. 1490—Historia septem sapientum (CA. 950). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

11. A set of half-folio cuts made to illustrate the romance of Melusine. They are found complete in A and B.

A. 9 Feb. 1491—Historie van Meluzine (CA. 975). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
B. 1510—Historie van Melusynen. ,, G. Bacx.
C. 1531—Coronijcke van Vlaendren. ,, Vorsterman.

1. Elineas (Helmas) and the Fairy. He stands on the l. holding the bridle of his horse. The fairy stands naked on the r., on the other side of a fountain. She agrees to become his wife on certain conditions, and bears him three fairy daughters, Melusine, Melior, and Palestine.

2. The Feast. Amery, Count of Poitiers, and his wife sit at table with the Count and Countess of Forest. An attendant enters at the l.; on the r. are musicians and a page. Raymond, the youngest son of the Count of Forest, stands in front and is received into the service of the Count of Poitiers (C).

3. Amery and Raymond ride out hunting. They are accompanied by three men on foot and three dogs.

4. Raymond and his dead Lord. Raymond on horseback on the r. looks at the Count who lies dead on the ground by a dead boar.

5. Raymond riding to Poitiers. He is seated on horseback, on the l.; five men meet him and enquire after the Count.

6. Raymond receiving instructions from Melusine, his betrothed. They stand in the middle; behind on the r. a page holds Raymond's horse. On the l. is a tent within which are other people.

7. Raymond preferring his request to the young Count. The young Count and three other men stand on the r., four men are on the l. (C).

8. Raymond returning to Melusine. He rides up from the l. Melusine takes hold of the bridle of his horse. Two women stand on the r. near a fountain.

9. Melusine receiving the Count of Poitiers. She stands in the mid. shaking hands with the Count. Ten other figures are seen.

10. The Counts of Poitiers and Forest taking leave of Raymond and Melusine after their marriage. The Counts stand on the l., three women are behind on the r.

11. The 'Casteleyn Reen' lays an ambush for the Count and takes him prisoner. A crowd of armed men fight on foot, one is fallen in the mid.; the men on the l. retreat, those on the r. shoot arrows at them.

12. Urian and Guy, two of Raymond's children, embark on their travels. They are just about to pass along a plank on to the ship which lies on the l.; Raymond, Melusine, and an attendant stand on the r.

13. They fight the Saracens. Two men wearing crowns are fallen in the mid.; two bodies of knights on foot fight over them.

14. The marriage of Urian with the daughter of the king of Cyprus. A Bishop stands in the middle before two men. Urian stands on the l. and the Princess on the r. A ship lies at a quay behind Urian (C).

15. Christine, daughter of the Duke of Luxemburg and wife of Anthony, fourth son of Raymond, pardons the King of Aussay who is brought before her. She stands with her two maidens on the l., the captive with bound hands is held between two soldiers on the r.

16. The Saracens burn the body of the King of Bernen. Two men stir up a fire under the body on the r.; fighting is going on behind about the walls of a town.

17. Raymond sees Melusine on a Saturday. She is inside a building like a covered bath, the lower part of her body being that of a serpent. Raymond stands at the door expressing astonishment.

18. Godfrey, sixth son of Raymond, fighting the giant Guerdon. He stands on the r. with his sword raised to strike the giant.

19. Godfrey blowing his horn over the giant's body. He stands on the r., five soldiers are seen behind.

20. Godfrey burns the monastery into which his brother Froment had entered as a monk. Godfrey in the mid. holds lighted brands to the building. Three monks are seen within.

21. Melusine faints on hearing of the death of Froment her son. She lies on the ground supported on the r. by a page. A man offers her a cup.

22. Raymond lying in bed overcome by his misfortunes. On the far side of the bed stand a man and two women; on the l. at the foot of it a young man sits writing.

23. Melusine having been publicly called 'Serpent' by Raymond is lost to him and departs flying through the air. She flies away with wings and a long serpent-like tail. Behind is the castle with two men on the battlements.

24. Raymond has his son Horrible suffocated. He is seen on the l. in a chair among flames. Raymond sits in bed on the r.

25. Melusine appears and nurses her babe. She kneels on the l. feeding her child, two people are in bed on the r.

26. Godfrey runs a lance into the giant Grimold. Godfrey rides up lance in rest from the r.

27. The giant disappears into a cave in the mountain. Godfrey stands in the mid. at the door of the cave, his horse is on the r. The giant's head can be seen through a hole.

28. The giant's body carried in a cart. The cart is drawn to the r., a man walking behind it.

29. The Count of Forest is killed trying to escape from Godfrey. They are seen on the battlements of a castle from which the Count falls into the moat.

30. Godfrey returns home and meets his father, who tells him of his intention of going to Rome and orders him to rebuild the burnt abbey. Godfrey and his father shake hands. On the r. is a horse, behind on the l. is the wall of a town.

31. Raymond absolved by the Pope. Raymond kneels before the Pope, who is seated on the l., behind on the r. is an altar.

32. The King of Armenia receiving a scroll from a bird. The King and Queen stand on the battlements of a castle, the bird flies down to them from the l.

33. Palestine, shut up in a castle by dragons, watching her father's treasure. She is seen looking to the r. over the castle wall; two dragons lie at the foot of it.

34. The death of Godfrey. Three men stand on the other side of the bed in which he lies, and one on the l. at the foot of it.

12. Marcolphus and another standing before Solomon—a quarto cut, reproduced by F. Ouvry (Howleglas, London, 1867, 4to.)

A.	about 1492—Salomon and Marcolphus (CA. 460).	Antwerp, G. Leeu.
B.	about 1528—Howleglas (Garrick copy, BM).	London, W. de Worde.
C.	about 1550—Howleglas (Bodleian Lib.).	,, W. Copland.
D.	about 1560—Howleglas (Heber copy, BM).	,, ,,

SECT. 11. *The Haarlem Woodcutter* (1483—1486).

1. A quarto device, a griffin holding a shield; over his head is the shield of Haarlem. HMT. 34 (50) *c*. It is first used in

10 Dec. 1483—Lijden ons heeren (CA. 1157). Haarlem, Bellaert.

2. A series of cuts of various sizes to illustrate Jacobus de Theramo's *Sonderentroest.*

A.	15 Feb. 1484—Sonderentroest (CA. 1656).	Haarlem, Bellaert.
B.	after A.—Oefeninghe op dat Pater Noster (CA. 1325).	,, ,,
C.	12 Nov. 1484—Ghedenc dijn uterste (CA. 1318).	,, ,,
D.	10 Dec. 1494—Ghetiden van O. L. V. (CA. 837).	Leyden, Janszoen.
E.	1497—Ghetijden van O.L.V. (CA. 841).	,, ,,
F.	Aug. 1499—Passionael, Vol. I. (CA. 1767).	Delft, Eckert.
G.	1501—Spiegel der Jonghers.	Antwerp, ,,
H.	1509—Sielentroest.	,, ,,
K.	1551—Sonderentroest.	,, Sym. Cock.

Two of the quarto cuts are found in G, the whole series reappears in K.

1. The Fall of angels and men, the Flood, Pharaoh and his host drowned in the Red Sea; in front on the r. is the Baptism of Christ—fol. cut. (A).

Half-folio cuts.

2. The descent of Christ to Hades (AH).
3. Hell (A).
4. Satan kneeling before the Lord on his throne (A).
5. The Last Judgment (A).
6. The Ascension (A).
7. Pentecost (AF).

Quarto cuts.

8. Solomon, the just Judge. He is on his throne with a scribe seated writing before him (A).

9. The Judge. He is seated on his throne under a dais with a stick in his l. hand; behind him are two men, one on each side (A).

10. Christ as the Judge, with Mercy and Justice. He is seated on the throne, Mercy with a lily stands on the l., Justice with a sword on the r. (A).

11. The Council-chamber. A King and two other men are seated in a room, a fourth stands behind. One of the windows in the background carries the printer's mark—HMT. 35 (51) *b* 3 (A).

12. The Last Judgment (AC).

13. The Blessed Virgin with Mercy and Justice. She stands in the mid. crowned; Mercy stands on the l. and Justice on the r. (A).

14. Heaven (AC).

15. Christ and the Apostles in a room (AB).

Side-pieces; two together are the size of one of the quartos.

16. Belial. He stands on a pavement facing right with a scroll in his r. hand—HMT. 35 (51) *b* 2 (A).

17. Christ and Azahel, the Messenger. Azahel kneels to the r., taking his hat off with his l. hand, before a door through which Christ is seen (A).

18. Azahel. He stands facing l. with a scroll in his l. hand (A).

19. Moses. He stands facing l. with his hands raised—HMT. 35 (51) *b* 2 (A).

20. Five men standing on a pavement facing r. holding up their r. hands (A).

21. Four men standing on a pavement facing l., two of them are holding up their r. hands (A).

22. The Messenger standing on a pavement facing r., his r. hand raised (A).

23. A dog standing on a pavement in a room; behind through a door a peacock can be seen (A).

24. A doorway on the r., a stool stands by it; over the stool is a window with a shield—HMT. 35 (51) *b* 3 (A).

25. Christ standing to the r., his l. hand raised (A).

26. A stool standing against a wall; above it is a window with a shield —HMT. 35 (51) *b* 3 (A).

27. Mercy standing to the r. with a lily in her l. hand (A).

28. Justice standing with a drawn sword in her hand (A).

29. David standing to the l. with a sceptre in his r. hand (A).

30. David standing to the r. with his r. hand raised (A).

31. Death, a lean figure with grave-clothes (ACDE).

32. A man with a feather in his cap standing in an open country; he holds a stick in his l. hand (A).

3. A folio border in four pieces generally used by Bellaert to surround his device. HMT. 34 (50) *c*.

A.	15 Feb. 1484—Sonderen troest (CA. 1656).	Haarlem, Bellaert.
B.	before C.—Historie van Jason (CA. 1092).	,, ,,
C.	5 May 1485—Historie van Troyen (CA. 1095).	,, ,,
D.	after C.—Fais de Jason (CA. 1091).	,, ,,
E.	24 Dec. 1485—Bartholomeus (CA. 258).	,, ,,
F.	20 Aug. 1486—Boeck vanden pelgherym (CA. 1376).	,, ,,
G.	2 June 1492—History of Jason (CA. 1093).	Antwerp, G. Leeu.
H.	1493—Cronycles of Englond (CA. 511).	,, ,,
I.	Aug. 1499—Passionael, winterstuc (CA. 1767).	Delft, Eckert.
K.	1502—Sielentroest.	Antwerp, ,,

and many other sixteenth century books.

4. Four octavo cuts for the 'Golden Throne.'

A.	25 Oct. 1484—Boeck des gulden throens (CA. 1343).	Haarlem, Bellaert.
B.	17 Dec. 1487—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 339).	Antwerp, C. Leeu.
C.	11 July 1491—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 339 a).	,, G. Leeu.
D.	1494—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 341).	,, Liesveldt.
E.	8 Aug. 1496—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 342).	,, ,,
F.	7 April 1497—Vier oeffeningen (CA. 343).	,, ,,
G.	6 Nov. 1499—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 344).	,, ,,

1. The Elder and a kneeling girl. He applies the first finger of his r. hand to the thumb of his l.; the girl is seen three-quarter face (ACFG).

2. A similar cut: the Elder raises his r. hand more than his l. (A).

3. A similar cut: the Elder being seen more from behind—HMT. 106 (62) *c* 1 (AB).

4. A similar cut: the woman seen in profile raising her hands but not joining them—HMT. 109 (70) *c* 1 (ADE).

5. The Flaming Mouth of Hell.

	12 Nov. 1484—Ghedene dijn uterste (CA. 1318).	Haarlem, Bellaert.

6. A set of cuts made to illustrate the Romance of Jason.

A.	before B.—Historie van Jason (CA. 1092).	Haarlem, Bellaert.
B.	5 May 1485—Historie van Troyen (CA. 1095).	,, ,,
C.	after B.—Fais de Jason (CA. 1091).	,, ,,
D.	24 July 1486—Doctrinael des tyts (CA. 1254).	,, ,,
E.	about 1492—Historie van Jason (not in CA).	Antwerp, G. Leeu.

F.	2 June 1492—History of Jason (CA. 1093).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.
G.	1511—Seghelijn.	,,	Eckert.
H.	1531—Cronike van Vlaenderen.	,,	Vorsterman.
K.	about 1531—Coronijcke van Maximiliaen.	,,	,,

1. The author dedicating his book to Philip the Good. He kneels in front to the r. presenting his book to the Duke; in the distance on the l. he is seen meditating by the shore whilst his hero passes by in a boat, HMT. 35 (51) *d* 2—a 4to. cut (ABCDEF).

A set of half-folio cuts.

2. The birth of Jason. In the l. compartment a woman kneeling to the l. presents the babe to king Æson; in the r. the king seated on his throne listens to a man who stands before him on the r.; a boy and a man also appear (ACEF).

3. Jousts. A knight rides from the l. against another and strikes him in the vizor with the point of his lance. Behind him are two other knights. Five people look down on them from a window in the castle; on the r. is a doorway (ABCEF).

4. Jason slaying the giant Euricus. He grasps the helmet of the giant and strikes at him with his sword. A bowman on the l. has just shot a soldier on the r. Three other men and a woman are seen (ACEF).

5. Jason slaying the giant Corfus. Jason and the giant lie on the ground in front thrown from their horses. Further back Jason strikes at the giant who kneels on his r. knee. In the background on the r. the giant is seen lying on the ground (ACEF).

6. The king of Selavonia defeated by Jason. Jason riding to the r. pierces with his lance the helmet of a knight who rides against him, whilst he turns off with his shield the lance of another. Behind are bowmen and other soldiers. In the mid. Jason is seen slaying a knight with his sword (ABCEF).

7. Jason and Mirro ride away. He rides slowly away on the r.; the Queen and another woman ride after him (ACEF).

8. Jason and king Diomedes fighting. On the l. are two ships; Jason standing on a plank which reaches to the shore defends one of them from the attack of some soldiers, who emerge on the r. from the gate of a town (ABCEFHK).

9. The meeting of Peleus and Jason. Jason on the r. advances to meet Peleus, who stands in the mid.; behind are four attendants and further off two men wrestling. On the l. Peleus is seen in the temple of Apollo consulting the oracle (ACEF).

10. The meeting of Jason and Hypsipyle. Jason, by whom stand three of his men, kneels on his l. knee before the Queen. Behind her are three women. In the distance on the r. are two ships on the sea (ACEF).

11. The foundation of a city on the Island of Colchis. Apollo stands in front on the r. directing the builders. In the distance across the sea is a smaller island on which the sheep with the golden fleece is grazing (ABCEF).

12. Apollo pursues his rebellious followers. A boat in front on the r. pursues another which attempts to reach an island (ACEF).

13. The battle between Apollo and the rebels. In a market-place surrounded by buildings Apollo at the head of his knights fights a body of men, one of whom lies overthrown at his feet. Most of them turn their backs and prepare to flee to the r. (ABCEFGH).

14. The meeting of Jason and Æëtes. Æëtes standing on the r. gives his hand to Jason as he kneels before him. Five other men are seen. Medea looks down from a window behind on the r. The mast of a ship appears in the distance (ABCEF).

15. The temple of Mars in the Island of Colchis. The building is in the centre of the island. On the l. is Jason slaying the dragon, on the r. are the bulls, and the sheep is behind on the side of a hill. The Argo is in the distance on the l. (ACEF).

16. The flight of Jason and Medea. The Argo sails away on the l. pursued by three rowing boats. From the foremost of these a man reaches into the sea to pick up the dismembered portions of a body. Hypsipyle leaps from a cliff on the r. (ACEF).

17. The death of Peleus and the rejuvenescence of Æson. L. compartment—Peleus sits in a tub; Medea stands beyond it, and the daughters of Peleus on each side with swords in their hands. R. compartment—Medea standing on the l. is operating with a knife on the shoulder of Æson who kneels in a tub; Jason stands on the r. (ACEF).

18. The feast at the marriage of Jason and Mirro. Medea with four dragons stands rending her child in pieces before the table at which Jason sits between his bride and her father (ABCEF).

19. The marriage of Jason and Mirro. L. compartment—A bishop joins the hands of the pair as they stand in a room before him. R. compartment—Two men fight with swords over the body of a third; behind are several soldiers (ACEF).

20. Medea appealing to king Æson for revenge. Medea kneels in a tent on the r. at the feet of the king. On the l. in another tent is a man seated on a box. On the r. in the interior of a building Medea is about to murder her child. In a room, in the besieged town, behind on the l., she is seen appearing to Jason and Mirro (ACEF).

21. Patroclus shooting Mirro with an arrow. Two knights stand in front before a tent, regarding a third, who kneels behind a tree on the r., in the act of discharging an arrow at the Queen. She appears at a window in the castle behind. A man walks away on the l. with a lance on his shoulder (ACEF).

7. A set of half-folio cuts made to illustrate the Romance of Troy; all appear in A.

A.	5 May 1485—Historie van Troyen (CA. 1095).	Haarlem, Bellaert.
B.	1531—Cronike van Vlaenderen.	Antwerp, Vorsterman.
C.	about 1531—Coronijcke van Maximiliaen.	,, ,,

1. Saturn and Titan. They stand in a room on the r. before a figure in a niche in the wall. On the l. in another room a young man and woman stand talking.

2. The Coronation of Saturn. He is seated in the mid.; two men hold a crown over his head, two others standing by.

3. The Marriage of Saturn and Cybele. They stand before a Bishop in a room on the l. On the r. is Saturn kneeling in a temple.

4. The Birth of Jupiter. In a room on the l. Cybele lies in bed behind; the nurse standing in front presents the child to Saturn. On the r. the nurse presents the child to Mellissus who stands before a gateway.

5. Perseus slaying a Sea-monster. He pierces with a lance the head of the beast as he rises from the sea; Andromeda kneels on the l.

6. The Birth of Hercules. L. compartment—A cow walks out into a court; Jupiter and Alcmena are together in a room behind; in another room Alcmena gives birth to twins. R. compartment—The child Hercules strangles two serpents in his cradle.

7. Hercules at the games. The games of wrestling, shooting with the bow, throwing heavy stones, and the horse-race, are represented. On the r. in front a man is blowing a trumpet.

8. Hercules taking an island. He climbs a rock, fighting a man who stands above him. At the foot of the rocks by the water are two men standing by the body of a third.

9. Hercules before Laomedon's castle. Three knights on horseback stand on the l. before a castle.

10. Hercules taking Troy. A body of soldiers enter the gate of a town which is behind on the r., whilst two men scale the cracking walls by means of ladders (BC).

11. Hercules and the three lions. He stands with a sword on the r.; the three lions are on the l. Behind on the r. are two men in the branches of trees.

12. Hercules slaying Busiris. He stands in a court-yard with a huge club with which he has just stunned Busiris. A body of soldiers retire on the r. Two men stand behind looking into a temple, where flames arise before an image.

13. Orpheus and Eurydice. They prepare to ascend some steps on the l. from which a knight salutes them. A man bound hand and foot sits by the steps. Behind on the r. is a castle.

14. The Burning of Troy. An army stands in front on the r., drawn up in a semicircle before tents, watching the burning town (B).

15. Hercules and Theseus fighting two Amazons. In an open country two knights ride from the l. against two armed women.

16. Hercules slaying Nessus. Hercules in front on the r. by a river has just discharged an arrow which slays Nessus on the opposite bank, as he is in the act of leading off Deianira.

17. Hercules and the Lernean Hydra. He stands on the r., with his sword ready to strike a beast with the head and arms of a man. The beast defends himself with sword and shield.

18. Hercules defeating the Bistones. He stands in front fighting three men on foot, the others retreat to the l. On the r. Hercules stands looking on whilst the four mares of Diomedes devour the body of their master.

19. Hercules and Augeas. Augeas drives forth eight oxen, holding four by their tails, from a door on the l. Behind is Hercules slaying him.

20. Hercules burnt to death. He lies on the ground in front in flames. Behind on the l. he receives Nessus' shirt from a page, and on the r. Deianira falls on a sword.

21. The Judgment of Paris. On the r. in front a knight lies asleep by a stream, his horse tied to a tree. Paris stands in the mid. and the three goddesses on the l.

22. A Battle before Troy. Two parties of knights fight on foot; one man lies on the ground in the mid. Behind are the walls of a town and the masts of ships.

23. A Battle. Two parties of knights ride against each other, a horse lies overthrown in the mid. in front. Behind are two parties of archers shooting.

24. The death of Achilles. He kneels in a temple on the r. Paris stands on the l., at the head of a body of archers, having just discharged an arrow, which strikes Achilles in the back.

25. The Wooden Horse. It stands to the r. in a deserted place within the walls; there is a gap in the walls on the l.

8. A set of folio cuts to illustrate Bellaert's translation of Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla's work, *De proprietatibus rerum.*

24 Dec. 1485—Bartholomeus (CA. 258). Haarlem, Bellaert.

1. The Most High seated in Glory.
2. The Creation and Fall of the Angels.
3. The Creation of man and woman.
4. The ages of man, the stages of life.
5. The Earth and the Heavens.

6. The twelve months in circular medallions:

   January—A man eating and drinking.
   February—A man warming his feet at a fire.
   March—Pruning the shoots of a vine.
   April—Planting out.
   May—Hawking.
   June—Mowing.
   July—Reaping.
   August—Threshing.
   September—The vintage.
   October—Sowing seed.
   November—Collecting acorns.
   December—Slaughtering a pig.

7. All manner of birds.
8. Twenty-seven kinds of fishes.
9. A river flowing into the sea, past a town.
10. Plants and trees.
11. Beasts and reptiles, HMT. 8 (132) *h*.

9. A set of small quarto cuts to illustrate an edition of the Epistles and Gospels, or a lost edition of the *Devote getijden* (compare CA. 1117).

A. 8 April 1486—Epistelen ende Euangelien (CA. 695). Haarlem, J. Bellaert.
B. 15 March 1499—Ludolphus (CA. 1185). Zwolle, P. van Os.
C.[1] 15 March 1519—Ludolphus. ,, ,,

1. The Presentation of the Blessed Virgin (B).
2. The Annunciation (A).
3. The Nativity (A).
4. The Circumcision (A).
5. The Adoration of the Magi (A).
6. The Presentation in the Temple (AB).
7. The Flight into Egypt (B).
8. The Massacre of the Innocents (AB).
9. Christ among the Doctors (AB).
10. The Baptism (A).
11. The Temptation (AB).
12. The Marriage at Cana (AB).
13. Christ cleansing the Temple (B).
14. The Supper at Simon's (AB).
15. The Woman of Samaria (B).
16. The raising of Lazarus (AB).
17. The Last Supper (AB).
18. Christ washing the disciples' feet (B).
19. The Agony in the garden (B).

[1] The cuts in C are, I believe, the same as in B; a few may be missing.

20. The Betrayal (B).
21. The Amazement of the soldiers (B).
22. Christ before Annas (B).
23. Christ before Caiaphas (B).
24. Christ before Pilate (B).
25. Christ buffeted (B).
26. Christ before Herod (B).
27. The Scourging (B).
28. The Crowning with Thorns (B).
29. *Ecce Homo* (B).
30. Pilate washing his hands (B).
31. Christ bearing his Cross (B).
32. The Disrobement (B).
33. Christ nailed to the Cross (B).
34. The elevation of the Cross (B).
35. The Blessed Virgin and St John by the Cross (AB).
36. Christ crucified between two thieves (B).
37. The Descent from the Cross (B).
38. The Entombment (B).
39. The Descent to Hades (B).
40. The Resurrection (AB).
41. The three Maries by the tomb (AB).
42. Christ as the Gardener (B).
43. The way to Emmaus (A).
44. Christ appears to the Apostles (AB).
45. Thomas convinced (B).
46. The Ascension (AB).
47. Pentecost (AB).
48. The Last Judgment (AB).
49. The Image of Pity (A).

10. The device of the Printer Johannes Andreae (Jan Andrieszoen). A lion with two shields (the printer's mark and the arms of Haarlem). HMT 36 (12) *b* 5.

31 May 1486—Liber de consolacione theologie (CA. 911). Haarlem, Andreae.

11. A set of quarto cuts to Pierre Michault's book.

24 July 1486—Doctrinael des tyts (CA. 1254). Haarlem, Bellaert.

1. The Author meeting Virtue in a valley; she offers to conduct him through the school of the men of his day.
2. They enter the school, which is presided over by Falsehood, who is lecturing.
3. The lecture by Arrogance.
4. The lecture by Concupiscence.

5. The lecture by Detraction.
6.[1] The lecture by Gossip (*Rumor*).
7. The lecture by Vanity.
8. The lecture by Corruption.
9. Virtue leading the Author through the now almost trackless forest to the Old School of the Virtues.
10.[1] They enter the Old School and find there the Four Cardinal Virtues.

12. A set of cuts made to illustrate the 'Book of the Pilgrim.'

A. 20 Aug. 1486—Boeck vanden pelgherym (CA. 1376). Haarlem, Bellaert.
B. 15 April 1498—Boeck vanden pelgrim (CA. 1377). Delft, Eckert.

1. The Pilgrim turning away from the City of Destruction and looking up at the Celestial City which he sees reflected in a mirror—4to cut (AB).

Side-pieces, one or other of them used in A with each of the regular series of cuts in order to fit them to the folio page. They measure 2·7 × 1·2 in.

2. The author asleep on a bank (AB).
3. A similar cut; his feet are more to the l. (A).

The following cuts form the regular series. They measure 2·7 × 2·0 in.

4. A Landscape divided by a stream (A).
5. Pilgrim walking through a hilly country, a bundle hanging from a stick over his shoulder (B).
6. Pilgrim meets a lady (God's Grace) and receives a staff from her (AB).
7. Pilgrim wading through the moat of Baptism to the castle of Grace (AB).
8. Pilgrim with Grace and Moses (AB).
9. Pilgrim with Moses and the lady Reason (AB).
10. Pilgrim with Reason and Moses. On the r. an official, the servant of Grace, marries a man and woman who stand on the l. (AB).
11. Moses shaving a man's crown in the presence of Pilgrim (AB).
12. Pilgrim and Grace talking. HMT. 35 (51) *c* (AB).
13. Reason preaching before Moses, Pilgrim, and a man and woman (AB).
14. Pilgrim before a gate; the gate-keeper is Nature (AB).
15. Nature on her knees before Grace and Pilgrim (A).
16. Moses, Pilgrim, Penitence and Charity in a room (AB).
17. Charity standing holding a parchment (AB).

[1] These cuts are found at Amsterdam in the office of Peter John Tyebaut, early in the following century.

18. Pilgrim sleeping by the road side (AB).

19. Moses giving food to three persons, Pilgrim standing by (AB).

20. Charity and Wisdom baking bread (AB).

21. Charity and Pilgrim with their bread conversing with Aristotle (AB).

22. Grace and Pilgrim standing in a room with the bread in their hands. He holds his wallet open (AB).

23. Grace and Pilgrim looking at some armour which hangs on a wall (AB).

24. Pilgrim fully armed walking by Grace (AB).

25. Pilgrim throwing off his armour (AB).

26. Pilgrim and Grace with a lady without eyes (Memory) who carries Pilgrim's armour (AB).

27. Pilgrim and Memory meeting a giant (Hard Understanding) with a club (AB).

28. Reason and Memory standing by and watching Pilgrim's soul, which, as a little naked figure, hovers over his body (AB).

29. A devil, who comes out of a hole in the ground, attacking Pilgrim's soul, Reason standing by (AB).

30. Pilgrim, with his soul and body together again, standing with Reason and Memory (AB).

31. Pilgrim and Memory coming to a division in the road where they meet a basket-maker (Labour) and a woman (Idleness) (AB).

32. Pilgrim and Memory advancing to the r. along a path (AB).

33. An old woman (Laziness) holding Pilgrim tied by the leg (AB).

34. Laziness striking at Pilgrim with an axe (AB).

35. Pilgrim followed by Memory and held by Laziness. They meet an old woman (Pride) carrying another (Flattery) on her back (AB).

36. Pilgrim with Memory and Laziness sees two women (Treachery and Calumny) riding their mother (Envy). She goes naked on all fours (AB).

37. Pilgrim attacked by Treachery, Calumny, and Envy. Another woman comes up with a saw in her mouth calling herself *Noli me tangere* (AB).

38. Memory laying the armour at Pilgrim's feet. She suggests that he should put it on, but Laziness prevents him (AB).

39. Pilgrim alone before a wood watching two rabbits (AB).

40. Pilgrim coming out of a forest meets Avarice, an old woman with many hands (AB).

41. Pilgrim seeing a church in a valley (AB).

42. Pilgrim attacked by two hideous women, Hypocrisy and Gluttony. He is wounded by a dart in his r. eye (AB).

43. The hand of Grace coming from the clouds touches Pilgrim's staff (AB).

44. Grace brings Pilgrim to a rock, from an eye in which tears pour into a tub (AB).

45. Pilgrim by the shore of a sea beholds men and women floating in the water (AB).

46. Pilgrim sees a monster with a horn and net, and an old woman (Squinting Heresy), his daughter, who carries a fagot (AB).

47. Pilgrim tries to hurt Squinting Heresy (AB).

48. Pilgrim meets a young woman called Youth (AB).

49. Pilgrim is carried by Youth over the water on which Tribulation sits (AB).

50. Youth flies away leaving Pilgrim to fall into the water where Tribulation hurts him with a hammer and pincers (AB).

51. Pilgrim led by Tribulation to Grace (AB).

52. Grace makes Pilgrim enter the ship Religion (AB).

53. Pilgrim arrives at a castle gate. The Porter (Fear of God) tells him that the owner, Jesus Christ, is within. The Porter's cudgel is God's Vengeance (AB).

54. Pilgrim and the Porter with other persons within the Castle. A white pigeon flies over a plate of sweetmeats (AB).

55. Grace enters the castle; the Porter strikes Pilgrim with the club, God's Vengeance (AB).

56. Pilgrim in a room with an angel, a woman blowing a horn, and a corpse; they are Obedience, Discipline, and Correction (AB).

57. Pilgrim bound by the Prioress 'Aldus' (AB).

58. Pilgrim with two old women, one of whom carries a burden on her head (AB).

59. Pilgrim put to bed by two old women—Old Age and Sickness (A).

60. Pilgrim seated on a bed bound hand and foot; the cords that bind him are held by Pity (AB).

61. Pilgrim lying in bed. Death with a coffin and scythe stands on him; Grace stands by the head of the bed (AB).

SECT. 12. *The same Workman, or his School, at Antwerp* (1486—1495).

1. A set of half-folio cuts, made to illustrate an edition of the Romance of Paris and Vienne, which Bellaert probably intended to publish in 1485, or may have published, although it has not come down to us. Under these circumstances, the cuts must be placed at this point.

A. 15 May 1487—Histoire de Paris et de Vienne (CA. 941). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
B. 19 May 1487—Historie van Parijs ende Vienna (CA. 942). ,, ,,
C. 1488—Historie van Paris vnde Vienna (CA. 943). ,, ,,
D. 9 Feb. 1491—Historie van Melusynen (CA. 975). ,, ,,
E. about 1492—Historie van Paris ende Vienna (not in CA.). ,, ,,
F. 23 June 1492—Story of Paris and Vyenne (not in CA.). ,, ,,

1. The Dauphin with his wife Diana and Vienne his daughter. They stand in a room, the Dauphin on the l. (ABCEF).

2. The Serenade. Paris stands and Edward sits near him, both playing under Vienne's window, at which she is seen on the r. (ABCEF).

3. Paris is attacked by the guard. A body of soldiers advance from the l. towards Paris and Edward, who give their musical instruments to a boy and prepare to defend themselves (ABCEF).

4. The guard put to flight. Paris and Edward drive away the soldiers r. and l. (ABCEF).

5. The Jousts at Vienne. The horses are copied from no. 3 in the Jason series (Sect. xi. 6). Behind, three people are seen looking on from a window in the castle (ABCDEF).

6. Paris receiving the prize. Vienne presents the prize to Paris who rides up towards her from the l. (ABCEF).

7. Paris wins three banners. Paris sits on his horse before a gallery on the r. in which are the Dauphin and his court. A man kneeling before him presents him with three banners (ABCEF).

8. Vienne and her mother visiting the father of Paris. L. compartment—Diana stands before the bed in which he lies; in front on the r. is a cabinet. R. compartment—Vienne takes down the three banners from the wall of a church; Diana stands by her on the l. (ABCEF).

9. The meeting of Paris and Vienne. They stand together on the l. in a courtyard; a Bishop is seen on the r. standing near a gateway (ABCEF).

10. Paris' father demanding Vienne in marriage for his son. He stands in the mid. talking with the Dauphin. Behind on the l. are two men, and on the r. four people at a door (ABCEF).

11. The elopement of Paris and Vienne. They ride together on a horse to the r. followed by Edward and Isabella (ABCEF).

12. The pursuit. The Dauphin stands with two men at a gateway on the l. A man kneels before him and two others are seen riding away (ABCE).

13. Vienne placed in sanctuary. Paris and Vienne stand in the mid. near the altar in a church; Edward stands on the l. and Isabel on the r. (ABCEF).

14. Vienne brought back. She kneels before the Dauphin who stands at a door on the r. Behind her are two men and, on the l., their horses (ABCEF).

15. The letter from Paris to Edward. L. compartment—Paris standing on the l. gives the letter to a man. R. compartment—Edward standing on the r. receives the letter from a man who kneels before him (ABCEF).

16. Vienne demanded in marriage by the son of the Duke of Burgundy. He stands before his followers and shakes hands with the Dauphin who stands at a gateway on the r. (ABCEF).

17. Vienne put in prison. A jailor pushes Vienne into the prison on the r., another jailor on the l. leads Isabella to the same place (ABCEF).

18. Paris starting for the Crusade. He is in a ship which lies on the l. by a quay; the buildings of Venice are on the r. (ABCEF).

19. The visit of the Dauphin to the King of France. The Dauphin with four attendants walks along the quay towards the King who stands with three other men on the r. (ABCEF).

20. Paris in Alexandria. Paris and the Admiral stand in the market-place talking to a jailor; the Dauphin is seen on the r. within a prison (ABCEF).

21. Paris liberating the Dauphin. On the l. Paris and two Friars lead the Dauphin out of the prison door. On the r. Paris is seen slaying a drunken jailor (ABCEF).

22. The Dauphin and Paris taking ship. They stand with the two Friars and another man at the end of a plank about to go on board a ship which lies on the l. (ABCEF).

23. Their arrival in France. They ride at the head of a great company towards the r. where a number of people on foot come out of a gateway to receive them (ABCEF).

24. Paris visiting Vienne in prison. They sit side by side on a bench on the l. against the wall. Isabella lies on the bed in the mid. (ABCEF).

25. The marriage of Paris and Vienne. They stand before a Bishop; on the r. are four men and on the l. four women (ABCDEF).

2. A set of quarto cuts made to illustrate the poem of Reynard the Fox; only a fragment (with 3 cuts) is known.

1487-1488—Reynaert die vos (not in CA.). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

1. Reynard running away with a goose from a table at which two people are seated. He is pursued by three men and appears in three parts of the cut.

2. Reynard in the farm-yard amongst chicken and geese; a sort of hood hangs round his neck.

3. Reynard, a cat facing r., a cock, a wolf, and other animals in an open country—the only known impression of this cut is torn and imperfect.

3. Supplementary cuts made for Ludolphus' Life of Christ.

A.	3 Nov. 1487—Ludolphus (CA. 1181).	Antwerp, G. Leeu.
B.	20 Nov. 1488—Ludolphus (CA. 1183).	,, C. Leeu.
C.	27 May 1495—Bernardus Sermonen (CA. 276).	Zwolle, P. van Os.
D.	20 Nov. 1495—Ludolphus (CA. 1184).	,, ,,
E.	15 Mar. 1499—Ludolphus (CA. 1185).	,, ,,
F.	15 Oct. 1510—Ludolphus.	Antwerp, A. van Berghen.
G.	15 Mar. 1519—Ludolphus.	Zwolle, P. van Os.

Folio cuts.

1. The story of St Joachim and St Anne (ABDEFG).
2. Peter's confession (ABDEFG).
3. Christ seated amongst the Twelve (ABDEFG).
4. The Last Supper. All are standing round a table (ABDEFG).
5. Christ appearing to Peter, James, and Joseph of Arimathea (ABDEFG).
6. Christ appearing to the Five Hundred (ABDEFG).

Half-folio cuts.

7. The Baptism of Christ (ABDEFG).
8. The Testimony of John Baptist (ABDEFG).
9. Christ baptising (ABDEFG).
10. The Sermon on the Mount (ABDEFG).
11. The Chief Priests taking counsel against Christ (ABDEFG).
12. The ten Virgins (ABDEFG).
13. Christ appearing to the Blessed Virgin (ABCDEFG).
14. Christ appearing to the three Maries (ABDEFG).
15. Peter and John before the High Priest (ABDEFG).

Quarto cut.

16. *Salvator Mundi* (AB).

Auxiliary or narrow quarto cuts.

17. St Joseph's vision (ABDEFG).
18. The Egyptians adoring an image of the Virgin and Child (ABDEFG).
19. A group of soldiers (ABDEFG).
20. Peter's denial (ABDEFG).
21. Pilate's wife's message (ABDEFG).
22. The way to Emmaus (ABDEFG).

4. A set of quarto cuts made to illustrate the 'Garden of Devotion'.

28 Nov. 1487—Hoofkijn van devotien (CA. 985). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

1. The Soul, as a girl, whilst picking flowers hears the voice of Christ calling her to come into his garden.

2. The girl hearing the voice walks towards the garden.

3. She advances along the path of Penitence which leads to the garden gate.

4. The garden gate is locked; the girl kneels before it in prayer.

5. Obedience admits the girl into the garden and shows her the Four Cardinal Virtues.

6. The girl with the Four Virtues, the handmaids of Obedience, hears the angels playing and singing in the garden.

7. The girl sits at the foot of a tree which is the Cross of Christ, and is told by the maidens of the trees, flowers and fruits of the garden.

8. The girl kneeling before the Holy Cross, the tree of Love, is pierced through the heart with an arrow by Faith; Hope and Charity stand behind.

9. The girl drinks from the fountain in the garden, and listens to the singing of the birds.

10. Faith sitting by the side of the girl among five angels teaches her the Art of Loving.

11. The girl sings for joy of the love of God, as she sits at the foot of the Cross.

12. Christ, as the Eternal Wisdom, appears to the girl and speaks to her, while she kneels before him.

5. Five 32mo cuts made for this '*Officium*'.

1487—Officium B. Mariæ Virginis (CA. 1328). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

1. The Annunciation.
2. The Virgin and St John, by the Cross.
3. The Last Judgment.
4. The Vigils of the Dead.
5. The Mass of St Gregory.

6. A set of cuts, made to illustrate the 'Childhood of Jesus moralised,' and all appearing in A.

A. 16 Feb. 1488—Kintscheijt ihesu (CA. 1074). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
B. about 1491—Minnenbrief (CA. 1258). ,, ,,

Part I. Two cuts measuring 2 × 2·4 in.

1. The Soul adoring the Child Jesus, No. 1.
2. The Soul adoring the Child Jesus, No. 2 (B).

Eleven cuts measuring 2·6 × 2·4 in.

3. *Contritio et Confessio.*
4. *Puritas et Caritas.*
5. *Cumulatio et Tranquillitas.*
6. *Meditatio et Oratio.*
7. *Devotio et Puritas.*

8. *Providentia et Obedientia.*
9. *Misericordia et Mansuetudo.*
10. *Justitia et Veritas.*
11. *Penitentia et Gratitudo.*
12. *Paupertas et Innocentia.*
13. The Child Jesus looking at the Heavens.

Part II.

14. The Deer (no. 1), between whose horns is the Image of the Child Jesus, facing l., with four birds and three beasts among hills—2·7 × 2·4 in.
15. The Deer (no. 2), running to the l., turning his head back to the r. where are three trees—2·1 × 2·4 in.
16. The Deer (no. 3), very similar to no. 2, but the nimbus of the Child breaks into the upper border line—2·1 × 2·4 in.
17. The Deer (no. 4), like no. 3, but the upper border line is continuous —2·1 × 2·4 in.
18. The Soul (no. 1), blowing a horn and holding five dogs by leashes—2·6 × 2·4 in.
19. The Soul (no. 2), leading one hound on whose collar are four white spots—2·0 × 2·5 in.
20. The Soul (no. 3); the dog's collar has only three spots—2·7 × 2·5 in.
21. The Soul (no. 4); there are no spots on the dog's collar—2·0 × 2·4 in.
22. The Soul (no. 5); the collar is white with a black band round it—2·0 × 2·4 in.
23. The Soul and Deer standing near a tree—2·1 × 2·4 in.
24. The Hound running to the left, holding a scroll—2·0 × 2·4 in.
25. The Hound catching the Deer—2·1 × 2·4 in.
26. The Hound finding the Soul lying down—2·0 × 2·5 in.
27. The Soul and Deer in a garden—2·7 × 2·4 in.
28. A garden surrounded by a paling—2·7 × 2·4 in.
29. The Soul piercing the side of the Deer—2·7 × 2·5 in.

Part III. All the cuts measure about 2·7 × 2·4 in.

30. *Mundicia*, a woman clothed in white, raising the Child into a tree.
31. *Perseverantia*, clothed in blue, nailing the Child's feet.
32. *Timor*, clothed in grey, nailing the Child's r. hand.
33. *Tribulatio*, clothed in black, nailing the Child's l. hand.
34. *Veritas*, clothed in gold, standing by the crucified Child.
35. *Amor*, clothed in red, piercing the Child's side.
36. *Pax*, clothed in green, raising a cup to the Child's lips.
37. The Soul standing in the forest.
38. The Soul kneeling before the Child crucified in a tree.

7. A quarto title-page cut representing a Hermit and a young man near a building within which is a skeleton.

20 Feb. 1488—Morticellarium aureum (CA. 1270). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

8. Two octavo cuts made for

16 March 1488—Spieghel der sondaren (CA. 591). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

1. The Virgin instructing the kneeling sinner.
2. A Teacher and a young man, both standing.

9. A set of quarto cuts illustrating the story of the Seven Wise Men of Rome.

A. 11 Apr. 1488—Van die seven wise mannen (CA. 954). Antwerp, C. Leeu.
B. before C—Historia septem sapientum. Cologne, J. Koelhof.
C. 6 Nov. 1490—Historia septem sapientum (CA. 950). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

1. The Death of the King's first wife (ABC).
2. The Prince commended to the Seven Wise Men (ABC).
3. The second marriage of the King (ABC).
4. The Wise Men take the Horoscope of the Prince (ABC).
5. The Prince's return and his meeting with the King (ABC).
6. The Prince in the Queen's chamber (ABC).
7. The King threatening to slay the Queen (ABC).
8. The Queen's defence (ABC).
9. The Speech of one of the Seven Wise Men (ABC).
10. The Prince's acquittal (ABC).
11. The Queen and her Paramour are condemned (AB).

10. A quarto title-page cut representing Æsop standing.

14 May 1488—Esopus moralisatus (CA. 38). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
about 1488—Salomon et Marcolphus (CA. 455). ,, ,,
27 April 1498—Historien van Esopus (CA. 29). Delft, Eckert.

11. Miscellaneous supplementary cuts made for the illustration of Ludolphus' Life of Christ.

A. 20 Nov. 1488—Ludolphus (C.A.1183). Antwerp, C. Leeu.
B. {18 Nov. / 1 Sept.} 1490—Passionael {Vol. I. / Vol. II.} (CA.1766). Zwolle, P. van Os.
C. 27 May 1495—Bernardus Sermonen (CA. 276). ,, ,,
D. 20 Nov. 1495—Ludolphus (CA. 1184). ,, ,,
E. 15 Mar. 1499—Ludolphus (CA. 1185). ,, ,,
F. 15 Oct. 1510—Ludolphus. Antwerp, A. van Berghen.
G. 21 Feb. 1515—Leven van S. Bernaert. ,, Claes de Grave.
H. 15 Mar. 1519—Ludolphus. Zwolle, P. van Os.

1. *Salvator Mundi*—fol. cut (ACDEFGH).

2. A young man led away by others who surround him; one puts his arm round his neck—narrow 4to cut (ADE).

3. A devil kneeling facing l.—a narrow 4to cut, classed here because I do not know where else to put it. It differs in style from all the rest, being worked in simple outline with rather broad soft lines. It is power-

fully designed and looks old when first used. It is surrounded by a border line on three sides only and seems to be a portion of some larger block (ADE).

Side-pieces, for quarto cuts.

4. A monkey and a bird above it with open wings among leaves (ADE).

5. A bird at the bottom amongst leaves and strawberries (ACDE).

6. A statue of a man in a long robe on a bracket facing somewhat to the l. (ACDE).

7. A copy of the preceding, the pillar under the bracket casts a shadow (ABCDE).

8. A monk on the top of a pedestal facing r., his head does not reach to the top of the cut (ABCDE).

9. A man to the r. drawing a bow, seen in a mass of foliage—

1st state—with black background (A).
2nd state—with background cut out (ACDE).

12. Two octavo cuts of the Virgin and her parents.

A.	about 1491—Historie van S. Annen (CA. 961).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.
B.	21 June 1491—Revelacien van S. Birgitten (CA. 382).	,,	,,
C.	27 May 1495—S. Bernardus sermonen (CA. 276).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.
D.	7 Sept. 1499—Historie van S. Anna (CA. 964).	,,	,,
E.	about 1500—Carmina in D. Annae laudem (CA. 53).	,,	,,

1. The Child Mary standing between her parents (AB).

2. A Rosary surrounding a picture of the Child Mary standing on a bench between her parents (ACDE).

13. Some octavo cuts of Saints.

A.	28 June 1491—Legende van S. Franciscus ende van S. Claren (CA. 334).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.
B.	about 1491—Regimen contra pestem (CA. 1065).	,,	,,
C.	about 1492—Hieronymi Psalterium (CA. 935).	,,	,,

1. S. Francis of Assisi (A).
2. S. Clara (A).
3. S. Anthony (B).
4. S. Jerome (C).

14. Two borders and a cut made, perhaps, for some lost book.

	about 1491—Duytsche ghetiden (CA. 839 note).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.
	9 Aug. 1494—Duytsche ghetiden (CA. 836).	,,	Liesveldt.
	29 July 1495—Duytsche ghetyden (CA. 839).	,,	,,

1, 2. Two octavo borders, each in one piece; they are formed of flowers, birds, butterflies, etc.

3. The Mass of S. Gregory—an octavo cut rounded at the top to fit within no. 1 of the borders. Perhaps this is part of a larger cut.

15. The Virgin and Child with S. Bernard, an octavo cut.

8 Oct. 1491—Bernardus Souter (CA. 278). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

16. David praying—octavo cut, HMT. 102 (57) c.

2 Dec. 1491—Glose opten psalm '*Miserere*' (CA. 847). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

17. A set of seven quarto cuts made to illustrate the 'Daughter of Sion.'

A.	7 Jan. 1492—Vanden Dochteren van Sijon (CA. 603).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.
B.	1514—Boethius.	Deventer,	A. Paffraet.
C.	Nov. 1515—Baptista Mantuanus.	,,	,,
D.	1516—Vocabularium Pyladæ.	,,	,,
E.	Feb. 1517—Declamatio Philippi.	,,	,,
F.	1517—Oratio dominica.	,,	,,

1. *Caritas* shoots an arrow into the side of Christ, *Oratio* catches the blood which flows from the wound (ABF).

2. *Cognitio*, after wounding the Soul, leaves the room (A).

3. *Cognitio* speaks to a man at the door of a house, within which a party of people are seated at table (A).

4. *Cognitio*, *Fides* and *Spes* stand round the fainting Soul (AC).

5. *Cognitio*, *Fides* and *Spes* enter a room, in which the Soul lies in bed (ADE).

6. *Oratio*, *Caritas* and *Sapientia* standing by the bedside of the Soul (A).

7. *Oratio* and *Caritas* stand by the Soul, who sits in a chair (A).

18. A set of octavo cuts of the Seven Sorrows. They are all found both in A and B.

A.	14 July 1492—Die seven weeden O.L.V. (CA. 1778).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.
B.	about 1494—Die seven ween O.L.V. (CA. 1780).	,,	Liesveldt.
C.	6 Mar. 1517—Fasciculus mirræ.	Delft,	Janszoen.

1. The Madonna and Child. She is seen three-quarter figure and holds an apple in her r. hand. The Child, held in her l. arm, is in the act of blessing. The Blessed Virgin wears a veil on which a star is embroidered. Her head is surrounded by a crown; on her neck is a small black cross. The background is an embroidered hanging. HMT. 103 (58) b 1.

2. The Mater Dolorosa. She is seen as a three-quarter figure turned rather to the l. and with the r. hand raised. She wears a cloak and hood. HMT. 103 (58) b 2.

3. The Circumcision.
4. The Flight into Egypt.
5. Christ among the Doctors.
6. Christ bearing his Cross (C).
7. The Blessed Virgin and St John by the Cross.
8. The Descent from the Cross.
9. The Entombment.

19. A set of cuts to illustrate the 'Virgin's Mystic Crown.'

6 Oct. 1492—Corona mistica B. Marie V. (CA. 497). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

Half-octavo cuts.

1. A crown (no. 1) surmounted by leaves, six of which are seen in front; at the top of each leaf is an emblem and below it a jewel on the rim of the crown.

2. A crown (no. 2), a copy of no. 1, but the right side of all the leaves is shaded.

3. A crown (no. 3), similar to no. 1, but with a different set of jewels and emblems.

4. A crown (no. 4), a copy of no. 3; the gem most on the left casts no shadow on the rim.

The twenty-four jewels and emblems are:—

Topaz, *Lucanus;* Sardius, Lily; Chalcedony, *Arturius;* Sapphire, *Crocus;* Agate, *Sidus marinum;* Jasper, Rose; Carbuncle, the Sun; Emerald, Violet; Amethyst, the Moon: Chrysolite, *Solsequium;* Chrysoprase, Orion; Beryl, Camomile.

The remaining cuts are composite. They are formed of two blocks, placed side by side, and together the same size as one of the preceding; so that an impression from one of the Crown blocks, together with two of these smaller ones, resembles an ordinary octavo cut. The small blocks are of two kinds according as they are to stand on the l. or the r., the former representing a kneeling figure, the latter the altar before which he or she kneels.

Left-hand cuts, 32mos.

5. A monk kneeling to the r., with sandals on his feet.
6. A woman kneeling, her r. foot showing.
7. A monk kneeling, without sandals.
8. A woman kneeling, her feet almost hidden.

Right-hand cuts, 32mos.

9. An altar, above which is a picture of the Virgin and Child, the Child to the l.

10. A similar altar; two cusps are seen above the picture.
11. A similar altar with ribbons hanging down in front.
12. A similar altar; the Child is to the r.

The space within the flat surface of the altar is in each case cut quite away in the block, so that various small pieces of wood may in turn be introduced as required. Of these there are twenty-four, carved with the same jewels and emblems which appear in the crown (see above) These are in turn laid upon the altar.

20. The Shield of England supported by angels, a quarto cut.

1493—Cronycles of Englond (CA. 511). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

21. A set of 16mo religious cuts, belonging to this school, only known as used at Deventer, but probably brought from Antwerp.

A. 1 Mar. 1493—Epistolen ende Evangelien (CA. 703). Deventer, J. de Breda.
B. 4 Mar. 1496—Epistolen ende Ewangelien (CA. 705). ,, ,,
C. 6 Sept. 1496—Hystorie geheyten Sydrack (CA. 982). ,, ,,
D. 1518—Scat der geesteliker rijckdoem. Zutphen, T. de Os.

Several of these cuts occur in D.

1. The Last Judgment (AB).
2. The Annunciation (AB).
3. The Nativity (AB).
4. The Circumcision (AB).
5. The Adoration of the Magi (AB).
6. The Baptism of Christ (AB).
7. Christ among the Doctors (ABC).
8. The Marriage at Cana (AB).
9. The Temptation (AB).
10. The Raising of Lazarus (A).
11. The Mass of St Gregory (AB).
12. The Virgin and St John by the Cross (AB).
13. The Last Supper (AB).
14. The Resurrection (AB).
15. The Appearance of Christ to the Apostles (AB).
16. The Ascension (AB).
17. Pentecost (AB).
18. The Supper at Simon's house (AB).

22. The Virgin and Child on the Crescent, an octavo cut.

about 1494—Kalendarium (CA. 1064). Antwerp, Liesveldt.

23. Three miscellaneous octavo cuts.

A. 13 June 1495—Horarium Trajectense (CA. 990). Antwerp, Liesveldt.
B. about 1500—Corte oefeninge (CA. 594). ,, ,,
C. about 1500—Historie van Joseph (CA. 970). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

1. Virgin and Child in glory, half-figure (AB).
2. The Stem of Jesse (AC).
3. The Trinity—a cut reduced to 8vo size (A).

24. The Soul, as a girl, kneeling before the Child nailed to a tree, an octavo cut copied from no. 38 in the *Kintscheyt Jhesu* series above (Sect. xii. 6).

about 1495—Die Gulden Letanien (CA. 1172). Antwerp, Back.

25. The Mass of S. Gregory, an octavo cut copied in reverse from that in Leeu's *Duytsche ghetiden* of about 1491 (Sect. xii. 14).

about 1495—Passio Domini (CA. 1360). Antwerp, Back.

26. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple—16mo cut.

3 July 1496—Epistelen ende Evangelien (CA. 706). Antwerp, Back.

27. Two square quarto cuts of students.

A. about 1500—Aristotle, Questiones naturales (CA. 182). Antwerp, Back.
B. 24 Sept. 1502—Joh. Picus Mirandula. ,, Martens.
C. 1511—Herbarius. ,, Back.

1. A student of natural history seated in a tree, whilst another lies on the grass at its foot (AC).

2. Two students seated at the foot of a tree, one writing and one asleep (B).

SECT. 13. *The Third Delft Woodcutter, of the Haarlem School* (1487—1498).

1. The Image of Pity, an octavo or small quarto cut.

about 1487—Troest der conscientie (CA. 1684). Delft, Meer.
about 1490—Kersten spiegel (CA. 599). ,, Snellaert.
about 1495—Die hondert Articulen (CA. 188). ,, ,,
1498—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1120). ,, Eckert.

2. Miscellaneous cuts.

A. 1 Mar. 1487—Passionael (CA. 1763). Delft, Meer.
B. about 1490—Kersten spiegel (CA. 599). ,, Snellaert.
C. April 1496—Quattuor novissima (CA. 1309). ,, ,,

1. S. Jerome standing—16mo cut (AB).
2. S. Anne with Virgin and Child in her lap—8vo cut (A).
3. The Virgin and S. John by the Cross (B).
4. The Child Jesus with the signs of the Evangelists (BC).

3. Christ appearing in glory to his Saints, a folio cut.

about 1498—Zielentroest (CA. 1549). Delft, Eckert.
21 Sept. 1500—Sielentroest (CA. 1550). Antwerp, Back.

SECT. 14. *Cuts of the Haarlem School, used at Leyden* (1484—1500).

1. Device of the printer Heynricus Heynrici, a lion holding two shields, one with the mark of the printer and one with the arms of Leyden, an octavo cut—HMT. 112 (86) b 2.

4 June 1484—Aquinas de humanitate Christi (CA. 1670). Leyden, Heynrici.

2. A 16mo cut of the Annunciation.

10 Dec. 1494—Ghetiden van O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 837). Leyden, Janszoen.

3. Part of a set of octavo religious cuts.

A. 1497—Getijden van O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 841). Leyden, Janszoen.
B. 25 May 1498—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1111). ,, ,,
C. 10 Mar. 1502—Wandelinge der Kersten menschen. ,, J. Severzoen.

1. The Image of Pity (BC).
2. Christ before Herod (B).
3. Christ crowned with thorns (B).
4. Ecce Homo (B).
5. Christ bearing his Cross (B).
6. The Day of Pentecost (A).

4. The Mater Dolorosa—large 16mo cut copied from that used by G. Leeu in the *Seven weeden* of 14 July 1492 (Sect. xii. 18, no. 2).

1500—Leven O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 1122). Leyden, Janszoen.

SECT. 15. *Augsburg Woodcuts used by Leeu* (1485—1486).

A set of cuts made to illustrate the Fables of Esop.

A. before B—Esopi Fabulae. Augsburg, A. Sorg.
B. 12 Oct. 1485—Fabulen van Esopus (CA. 28). Antwerp, G. Leeu.
C. 26 Sept. 1486—Esopi Fabulae (CA. 26). ,, ,,

The cuts appear in all three editions unless otherwise stated. Those marked *d* or *r* were copied *direct* or in *reverse* for Eckert van Homberch's

edition (CA. 29) published at Delft, 27 April 1498 (Sect. xxi. 31). The only copy of that edition which I have seen wanted the pages which should have contained the copies of nos. 163—169.

1. Esop and the events of his life—fol. cut.

The following cuts measure about 4·5 × 3·2 inches.

2. The stolen Figs (*d*).
3. Esop's vision of Diana (*r*).
4. Esop on a journey, with other slaves (*d*).
5. Xanthus purchasing Esop (*d*).
6. Xanthus taking Esop home (*d*).
7. Xanthus presenting Esop to his wife (*d*).
8. Xanthus and Esop in the garden (*d*).
9. Esop waiting at Xanthus' table (*d*).
10. Esop feeding a dog with a dish Xanthus had sent to his wife (*d*).
11. Esop carrying provisions (*d*).
12. The dish of hogs' tongues (*d*).
13. The imperturbable Rustic (*d*).
14. Esop's answer to Xanthus (*d*).
15. Xanthus' wager to drink up the sea (*d*).
16. Esop beaten (*r*).
17. Xanthus' wife sleeping (*d*).
18. The hidden Treasure (*d*).
19. Esop in the stocks (*d*).
20. Esop enfranchised (*d*).
21. Fable of the sheep, the wolves and the dogs (*d*).
22. Crœsus and Esop (*d*).
23. Esop concealed in a cave (not in B).
24. Esop restored to dignity (*d*).
25. Suicide of Ennus (*d*).
26. The carrying Eagles (*d*).
27. Esop's statue (*d*).
28. Esop captured by the Delphians (*d*).
29. Esop taking sanctuary (*d*).
30. Esop hurled from a rock (*d*).

31. Prologue—A man copying Esop's Fables (*r*).
32. The Cock and the Jewel (*r*).
33. The Wolf and the Lamb (*d*).
34. The Frog, the Mouse, and the Hawk (*r*).
35. The Dog and the Sheep (*d*).
36. The Dog and the Shadow (*d*).
37. The Lion, the Cow, the Goat, and the Sheep (*d*).
38. The Thief and the Sun (*d*).
39. The Wolf and the Stork (*d*).
40. The two Dogs (*d*).

41. The Man and the Serpent (*d*).
42. The Ass and the Bear (*d*).
43. The two Mice (*d*).
44. The Eagle and the Fox (*d*).
45. The Eagle, the Snail, and the Crow (*d*).
46. The Fox and the Crow (*d*).
47. The Lion, the Boar, the Bull, and the Ass (*d*).
48. The Ass and the Puppy (*d*).
49. The Lion and the Mouse (*d*).
50. The two Hawks (*r*).
51. The Swallow and other birds (*d*).
52. Jupiter and the Frogs (*d*).
53. The Doves, the Kite, and the Hawk (*d*).
54. The Dog and the Thief (*d*).
55. The Wolf and the Sow (*d*).
56. The Mountain in labour (*d*).
57. The Lamb, the Goat, and the Wolf (*d*).
58. The old Dog and his Master (*d*).
59. The Hares and the Frogs (*d*).
60. The Wolf and the Kid (*d*).
61. The Poor Man and the Serpent (*d*).
62. The Stag, the Sheep, and the Wolf (*d*).
63. The Fly and the Baldheaded man (*d*).
64. The Fox and the Stork (*d*).
65. The Wolf and the Woman (*d*).
66. The Jackdaw in borrowed plumes (*d*).
67. The Fly and the Mule (*d*).
68. The Fly and the Ant (*r*).
69. The Wolf and the Fox (*d*).
70. The Man and the Weasel (*d*).
71. The Frog and the Ox (*r*).
72. The Lion and the Shepherd (*d*).
73. The Lion and the Horse (*r*).
74. The Horse and the Ass (*r*).
75. Beasts and Birds (*d*).
76. The Nightingale and the Hawk (*r*).
77. The Fox and the Wolf (*d*).
78. The Stag and the Huntsman (*d*).
79. Juno, Venus, and other Women (*d*).
80. The Woman and her dead Husband (*r*).
81. The Young man and the Harlot (*d*).
82. The Father and his Son (*r*).
83. The Viper and the File (*d*).
84. The Man cutting wood (*d*).
85. The Wolf and the Dog (*d*).
86. The Belly and the Members (*d*).

87. The Ape and the Fox (*d*).
88. The Pedler and the Ass (*d*).
89. The Stag and the Oxen (*d*).
90. The deceitful Lion (*d*).
91. The Fox and the Grapes (*r*).
92. The Weasel and the old Mouse (*d*).
93. The Wolf and the Ploughman.
94. Juno and the Nightingale (*d*).
95. The Panther and the Husbandman (*d*).
96. The Sheep and the Slaughterman (*d*).
97. The Fowler and the Birds (*d*).
98. The false and the true Man and the Apes (*d*).
99. The Horse, the Stag, and the Huntsman (*d*).
100. The Lion and the Ass (*d*).
101. The Vulture and the Birds (*r*).
102. The Lion and the Foxes (*d*).
103. The sick Ass and the Wolf (*d*).
104. The large and small Goats (*d*).
105. The Man and the Lion (*d*).
106. The Flea and the Camel (*d*).
107. The Ant and the Cicada (*r*).
108. The Traveller and the Sword (*d*).
109. The Crow and the Sheep (*d*).
110. The Fir-tree and the Reed (*r*).
111. The Mule, the Fox, and the Wolf (*r*).
112. The Wolf, the Pig, and the Sheep (*d*).
113. The Cock and the Fox (*d*).
114. The Rustic and the Dragon (*d*).
115. The Fox and the Cat (*d*).
116. The Wolf and the Goat (*d*).
117. The Wolf and the Ass.
118. The Serpent and the Husbandman.
119. The Fox, the Wolf, and the Lion (*d*).
120. The Wolf and the Man in a tree (*d*).
121. The envious Dog (*d*).
122. The Wolf and the hungry Dog (*d*).
123. The Father and his three Sons (*d*).
124. The Fox and the Wolf (*d*).
125. The Dog, the Wolf, and the Ram (*d*).
126. The Countryman and the Lion (*d*).
127. The Knight, the Squire, and the Fox (*d*).
128. The Eagle and the Crow (*d*).
129. The Eagle, the Hare, and the Beetle (*d*).
130. The Fox and the Goat (*d*).
131. The Cat and the Cock (*d*).
132. The Fox and the Bramble (*d*).

133. The Man and the Wooden God (*d*).
134. The Fisherman (*d*).
135. The Cat and the Mice (*r*).
136. The Husbandman and the Storks (*d*).
137. The Boy that cried Wolf (*d*).
138. Jupiter and the Bee (*d*).
139. The Dove and the Ant (*d*).
140. The Woodcutter (*d*).
141. The Thief and his Mother (*d*).
142. The Flea (*r*).
143. The Man and his two Wives (*d*).
144. The Labourers (*d*).
145. The Countrywoman and the Wolf (*d*).
146. The Tortoise and the Birds (*d*).
147. The two Crabs (*r*).
148. The Ass in the Lion's skin (*d*).
149. The Frog and the Fox (*d*).
150. The two Dogs (*d*).
151. Jupiter and the Camel (*d*).
152. The two Companions (*d*).
153. The two Pots (*d*).
154. The Lion, the Bull and the Goat (*r*).
155. The Ape and his young (*d*).
156. The Stork and the Peacock (*d*).
157. The Tiger and the Huntsman (*d*).
158. The four Bulls (*d*).
159. The Fir-tree and the Bush (*d*).
160. The Fisherman and the little Fish (*d*).
161. Apollo and the two Men (*d*).
162. The Thief and the Boy (*d*).
163. The Lion and the Goat.
164. The Thirsty Crow.
165. The Rustic and the Bullock.
166. The Traveller and the Satyr.
167. The Mouse and the Ox.
168. The Goose that laid golden eggs.
169. The Ape and her twins.
170. The Cloud, the Rain, and the Vessel (*d*).
171. The Wolf and the Kid (*d*).
172. The Man with a Burden (*d*).
173. The Bag of Money (*d*).
174. The Oil Casks (*d*).
175. The Treasure Trove (*d*).
176. The Three Companions (*d*).
177. The Fowler and the little Bird (*d*).
178. The Hunchback (*d*).

179. The Teller of stories (*r*).
180. The Wolf and the Fox (*d*).
181. The Young Woman and her Suitor (not in B).
182. The Old Woman leading a young one astray (not in B).
183. The Blind man and his Wife (not in B).
184. The drunken Husband (not in B).
185. The Merchant's Wife and her Mother (not in B).
186. The King's Tradesmen (*d*).
187. The Husband shut up in a Dovecot (not in B).
188. The Woman and her Child (not in B).
189. The Huntsman and the Bird (*d*).
190. The Monsters (*d*).
191. The Bishop and the Priest (*d*).
192. The Fox and the Cock (*d*).

SECT. 16. *French Woodcuts used by Leeu* (1491) *and others.*

1. A set of cuts and borders in four pieces, used by Leeu for an octavo edition of a *Duytsche ghetiden.*

A.	about 1491—Duytsche ghetiden (CA. 839 note).	Antwerp,	G. Leeu.
B.	8 Oct. 1491—B. Bernardus Souter (CA. 278).	,,	,,
C.	about 1491—Minnenbrief (CA. 1258).	,,	,,
D[1]	13 March 1492—Horarium Trajectense (CA. 994).	,,	,,
E.	6 Oct. 1492—Corona Mistica (CA. 497).	,,	,,
F.	about 1492—Sarum Horae (not in CA.).	,,	,,
G.	May 1494—Gulden Letanie (CA. 1170).	,,	Liesveldt.
H[1].	9 Aug. 1494—Duytsche ghetiden (CA. 836).	,,	,,
I.	1494—Vier oefeningen (CA. 341).	,,	,,
K.	about 1494—Hondert Articulen (CA. 187).	,,	,,
L.	13 June 1495—Horarium Trajectense (CA. 990).	,,	,,
M.	29 July 1495—Duytsche ghetyden (CA. 839).	,,	,,
N.	1499—Muntplacaat (CA. 1272).	,,	,,
O.	about 1500—Van onser salicheit (CA. 469).	,,	,,
P.	about 1500—Corte oefeninge (CA. 594).	,,	,,
Q.	2 March 1513—Psalterium.	,,	Hillenius.

Borders, which may be distinguished by the variations in the bottom piece in each case, thus:

1. Two flowers between a bird and a bud (ABDGHLM).
2. Two flowers in a white lozenge (ABDGH, K top piece, LM, N inner piece).

[1] I have seen no copies of the books D and H, but the cuts they contain are in all probability as indicated in the list.

3. Two flowers and a bud, between a root and a flower (ABDGHLM).
4. A root between a bird and a beast (ABDGHLM).
5. Two flowers on a band, between two flowers and a stalk (ABDGHLM).
6. A root between a flower and a rabbit (ABDGHLM).
7. A bird and flower, between two flowers and two flowers (ABDGHLM, N inner piece, O top piece).
8. Two flowers on an oval, between two flowers; a white star (ABDGHLM).
9. Two flowers on a white space, between two flowers (ABDGHLM, O top piece).
10. Two flowers on a white space, between two roots (ABDGHLM).
11. Four diamond-shaped spaces with a flower in each (ABDGHLM).
12. A flower-basket (ABCDGHLM).
13. A bird and flower, between two flowers (ABDGHLM).
14. Two flowers between two flowers; black star (ABDGHKLM).
15. Three flowers between two flowers (ABDGHLM).
16. Two flowers between two flowers; four white spots instead of a star (ABDGHLM).

Octavo cuts.

17. St John at Patmos (ADHLM).
18. The Annunciation, HMT. 109 (70) b 1 (ADHLM).
19. The Visitation (ADHLM).
20. The Nativity (ADHLM).
21. *Gloria in excelsis* (ADHLM).
22. The Presentation (ADHLM).
23. The Three Kings (ADHLM).
24. The Flight into Egypt (ADHLM).
25. The Crucifixion (ADHLMP).
26. Pentecost (ADHLM).
27. David and Goliath (ADHLMQ).
28. Death (ADHLM).
29. The Coronation of the Virgin (ADEHLM).
30. The Pietà (ACDGHLP).

32*mo cuts.*

31. S. Michael (ADHLM).
32. S. John Baptist (ADHLM).
33. SS. Peter and Paul (ADHLM).
34. S. John the Evangelist (ADHLM).
35. S. Stephen (ADHLM).
36. S. Laurence (ADHLM).
37. S. Christopher (ADHLM).

38. S. Sebastian (ADHLM).
39. S. Anthony (ADHLM).
40. S. Nicolas (ADHLM).
41. S. Martin (ADHLM).
42. S. Joest (ADHLM).
43. S. Anne (ADHLM).
44. S. Mary Magdalene (ADHLM).
45. S. Catherine (ADHLM).
46. S. Barbara (ADHLM).
47. S. Margaret (ADHLM).
48. S. Apollonia (ADHLM).
49. The Trinity, HMT. 109 (70) b 3 (FM).
50. The Virgin and Child in a ship, HMT. 109 (70) b 3 (M).
51. *Salvator Mundi* (I).

2. A side-piece in three compartments, used at Delft by Eckert. In the upper compartment two men embrace, in the middle is the Betrayal of Christ, in the lower are three soldiers.

Aug. 1499—Passionael, winterstuck (CA. 1767). Delft, Eckert.

This must be part of a French 8vo border. In Eckert's Antwerp books other cuts and portions of borders are found, but I have been unable to discover any book printed by him in which a French series appears complete.

3. A set of French Woodcuts used at Gouda.

20 April 1496—Getyden van O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 840). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

Sixteen borders for an 8vo page, similar to those described above.

A set of octavo cuts, the subjects being seen, in every case, under ornamental arches.

1. The Apocalypse.
2. The Annunciation.
3. The Visitation.
4. The Nativity.
5. *Gloria in excelsis.*
6. The Presentation.
7. The Three Kings.
8. The Flight into Egypt.
9. The dead Body of Christ on the Cross.
10. Pentecost.
11. David slaying Goliath.
12. Death.
13. The Coronation of the Virgin.
14. The Pietà.

A set of 32mo cuts of saints, many of them cut in white out of a black ground.

15. S. Michael.
16. SS. Peter and Paul.
17. S. John.
18. S. Stephen.
19. S. Lawrence.
20. S. Christopher.
21. S. Sebastian.
22. S. Anthony.
23. S. Nicolas.
24. S. Martin.
25. S. Joost.
26. S. Mary Magdalene.
27. S. Catherine.
28. S. Margaret.
29. S. Apollonia.

SECT. 17. *The First Zwolle Woodcutter* (1484—1491).

1. Two devices of the printer Peter van Os, used for the first time in

26 May 1484—Gesten der Romeynen (CA. 828). Zwolle, P. van Os.

1. A small Device. Two shields hanging from a branch, the l. bearing the arms of Zwolle, the r. the printer's mark. Between the two is a star of six points, HMT. 90 (82) a. The upper r. ray of the star undergoes various vicissitudes, and may be used as a help in fixing the date of undated books. In this book, in both volumes of *S. Bernardus Sermonen*, and elsewhere, all six rays appear clearly printed. It seems however that the l. corner of the r. shield must have swelled; for, when printed in the *Evangelien ende epistelen* of 1488, the ray of the star nearest this corner begins to fade out, and it disappears in the *Bien boeck* of the same year. For three years it presents all the appearance of being broken off; but in 1491, seemingly through the wearing down of the raised corner of the shield, it begins again to reach the paper; and in all books printed at the end of that year and afterwards, in which this device is used, the whole six rays are seen. The device is not found after 1495.

2. A quarto Device. An angel kneeling in a niche, under a rough archway, holding in his hands the shield of Zwolle. In the spandrils of the arch are the shields of Zwolle and of the printer. HMT. 92 (83) a.

It is found in a second state in the *Somerstuck* of *S. Bernardus Sermonen* of the 30th April 1485. In this the two shields above are blank, and the shade hatchings down the r. side of the arch are considerably cut away. HMT 92 (83) b.

2. A folio cut of the Virgin manifesting herself to S. Bernard.

24 Dec. 1484—S. Bernardus Sermonen, Vol. I. (CA. 275). Zwolle, P. van Os.
30 April 1485—S. Bernardus Sermonen, Vol. II. (CA. 275). ,, ,,
27 May 1495—S. Bernardus Sermonen, Vols. I. and II. (CA. 276). ,, ,,

3. A folio cut of Moses receiving the Tables of Stone.

21 July 1485—Der sielentroest (CA. 1547). Zwolle, P. van Os.
23 Aug. 1491—Der sielentroest (CA. 1548). ,, ,,

4. A quarto cut of S. Luke, seated at a desk writing, and two other blocks.

A. 5 Jan. 1487—Epistelen ende evangelijen (CA. 697). Zwolle, P. van Os.
B. 10 Nov. 1488—Evangelien ende epistelen (CA. 699). ,, ,,
C. after B.—Epistolare et Evangeliare (CA. 682). ,, ,,
D. 1488—Liden ons Heren (CA. 1162). Hasselt, Barmentloe.

1. S. Luke (ABC).
2, 3. Two insignificant side-pieces (ABD).

5. A set of quarto cuts copied from certain of the Second Gouda Cutter's series of sixty-eight (Sect. ix. 2).

A. 5 Jan. 1487—Epistelen ende Evangelijen (CA. 697). Zwolle, P. van Os.
B. 1488—Liden ons Heren (CA. 1162). Hasselt, Barmentloe.
C. 6 Nov. 1488—Psalterium (CA. 539). Zwolle, P. van Os.
D. 1503—Profectus religiosorum. ,, ,,

1. The raising of Lazarus, HMT. 98 (65) a 3 (B).
2. Christ's entry into Jerusalem (AB).
3. Christ clearing the Temple (B).
4. The Last Supper (AB).
5. The Agony in the Garden (B).
6. The Betrayal (B).
7. The Amazement (B).
8. Christ before Pilate (B).
9. The Scourging of Christ (B).
10. Pilate washing his hands (B).
11. Christ bearing his Cross (B).
12. Christ nailed to the Cross (B).
13. The Descent from the Cross (B).
14. Christ under the mystic Press, HMT. 90 (82) a 2 (BCD).

6. A head piece for a folio page, representing beehives and bees.

21 Nov. 1488—Bien boeck (CA. 1658). Zwolle, P. van Os.

7. A set of folio cuts copied from those in the *Ars Moriendi* Block-book.

1488—Sterfboeck (CA. 1620). Zwolle, P. van Os.
4 June 1491—Sterfboeck (CA. 1621). ,, ,,

All the cuts occur in both editions.

1. The sick man tempted by the devil to Distrust.
2. The exhortation of the angel to Faith, HMT. 93 (84) b.
3. The temptation to Despair.
4. The exhortation to Hope.
5. The temptation to Avarice.
6. The exhortation to Charity.
7. The temptation to Impatience.
8. The exhortation to Patience.
9. The temptation to Pride.
10. The exhortation to Humility.
11. The soul of the dying man received by angels.

8. Two quarto cuts of Saints, one being used by Barmentloe as his device.

2 Jan. 1490—S. Hieronymus Boeck (CA. 927). Hasselt, Barmentloe.

1. S. Jerome, standing in a room.
2. S. Stephen, holding two shields, one with the printer's own arms and one with the arms of Hasselt—HMT. 99 (66) a 1.

9. A folio cut representing the Martyrdoms of various Saints, copied from one by the Utrecht Woodcutter (Sect. vi. 8).

1 Sept. 1490—Passionael, somerstuck (CA. 1766). Zwolle, P. van Os.
18 Nov. 1490—Passionael, winterstuck (CA. 1766). ,, ,,

10. The Annunciation, an octavo cut possibly by this workman.

23 Aug. 1491—Sielentroest (CA. 1548). Zwolle, P. van Os.
27 March 1493—Epistelen ende Evangelien (CA. 704). ,, ,,
20 Nov. 1495—Ludolphus (CA. 1184). ,, ,,
15 March 1499—Ludolphus (CA. 1185). ,, ,,

SECT. 18. *The Second Zwolle Woodcutter* (1487—1493).

1. Certain of a set of devotional quarto cuts.

A. 5 Jan. 1487—Epistelen ende evangelijen (CA. 697). Zwolle, P. van Os.
B. 1488—Liden ons Heren (CA. 1162). Hasselt, Barmentloe.

1. Christ washing the disciples' feet (B).
2. Christ before Caiaphas (B).
3. Christ before Herod (B).
4. The Virgin and S. John by the Cross (A).

2. A set of four quarto cuts copied from the set by the First Gouda Woodcutter (Sect. viii. 4).

A.	1488—Liden ons Heren (CA. 1162).	Hasselt,	Barmentloe.
B.	about 1488—Clargie om wel te leven (CA. 446).	,,	,,
C.	1 July 1491—Die vier vutersten (CA. 1323).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.

1. The last Judgment, HMT. 98 (65) a 1 (ABC).
2. Death with a scythe reaping (BC).
3. The Mouth of Hell (BC).
4. The Gate of Heaven, HMT. 97 (64) a 1 (ABC).

3. A folio cut of the Annunciation.

1 Apr. 1490	—Vaderboeck (CA. 938).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.
18 Nov. 1490	—Passionael, winterstuck (CA. 1766).	,,	,,
27 May 1495	—S. Bernardus Sermonen (CA. 276).	,,	,,
15 Mar. 1499	—Ludolphus (CA. 1185).	,,	,,

4. Christ among the Doctors—an octavo cut.

A.	7 Sept. 1492—Gemmula vocabulorum (CA. 794).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.
B.	about 1497—Alexander Gallus (not in CA).	,,	,,

5. The Pope on a throne under a canopy, an octavo cut.

about 1493	—Liber de consideratione (CA. 265).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.

6. A set of octavo cuts, perhaps by different hands.

A.	27 Mar. 1493—Epistelen ende Evangelien (CA. 704).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.
B.	27 May 1495—S. Bernardus Sermonen (CA. 276).	,,	,,
C.	20 Nov. 1495—Ludolphus (CA. 1184).	,,	,,
D.	15 Mar. 1499—Ludolphus (CA. 1185).	,,	,,
E.	7 Sept. 1499—Historie van S. Anna (CA. 964).	,,	,,
F.	after 1500—Opusculum de officiis (CA. 1275).	,,	,,
G.	15 Mar. 1519—Ludolphus.	,,	,,

Most of the cuts reappear in G.

1. The Creation (CD).
2. The Fall (CD).
3. The Visitation (DE).
4. The Nativity (ADE).
5. The Circumcision (ACD).
6. The Adoration of the Magi (AD).
7. The Presentation in the Temple (C).
8. The Flight into Egypt (CD).
9. The Entry into Jerusalem (BCD).
10. The Last Supper (AB).
11. Christ on the Cross between two thieves (A).

12. The Descent to Hades (B).
13. The Resurrection (AB).
14. The Supper at Emmaus (DF).
15. The Day of Pentecost (ABCD).
16. The Assumption (B).
17. *Salvator Mundi* (CD).

7. *Salvator Mundi*, a quarto cut.

about 1495—De contemptu mundi (CA. 709).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.
about 1497—Alexander Gallus (not in CA.).	,,	,,
about 1497—Quomodo legendi sunt libri (CA. 259).	,,	T. van Os.
about 1500—Aristoteles, De moribus (CA. 172).	,,	,,

SECT. 19. *Miscellaneous Zwolle Cuts* (1491—1500).

1. Two borders for octavo cuts.

A. 7 Sept. 1492—Gemmula vocabulorum (CA. 794).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.
B. about 1497—Alexander Gallus (not in CA.).	,,	,,
C. 15 Mar. 1499—Ludolphus (CA. 1185).	,,	,,

1. An architectural Border in one piece. It represents a window surmounted by a canopy and finials (AC).

2. A Border in one piece. At the corners are the symbols of the Four Evangelists (BC).

2. A set of octavo cuts, chiefly of saints.

A. 27 May 1495—S. Bernardus Sermonen (CA. 276).	Zwolle,	P. van Os.
B. 20 Nov. 1495—Ludolphus (CA. 1184).	,,	,,
C. about 1495—De contemptu mundi (CA. 709).	,,	,,
D. 15 Mar. 1499—Ludolphus (CA. 1185).	,,	,,
E. after 1500—Opusculum de officiis (CA. 1275).	,,	,,

These cuts are frequently found in the early years of the 16th century.

1. S. Philip (A).
2. S. James the Less (A).
3. S. Peter with a key (A).
4. S. Peter ad vincula (BD).
5. B. Eucherius Episcopus (C).
6. Johannes Murmellius (E).

3. A small Device, two shields joined by a cord, the l. bearing the printer's mark, the r. the arms of Zwolle. HMT. 94 (85) c. Used by both P. and T. van Os.

about 1497—Quomodo legendi sunt libri (CA. 259).	Zwolle,	T. van Os.
1500—Bartholomei Canones (CA. 250 a).	,,	P. van Os.

4. The Monogram IHS between the symbols of the Four Evangelists—HMT. 94 (85) b, a square quarto cut copied from the one frequently used by J. de Breda (Sect. xxviii. 7).

about 1497—Liber faceti (CA. 735). Zwolle, P. van Os.
about 1500—Stella clericorum (CA. 1616). ,, ,,

5. Saturn and Mars with a Crab—square octavo cut.

about 1497—Sallustius, Catilina (CA. 1502). Zwolle, P. van Os.
1500—Bartholomei Canones (CA. 250 a). ,, ,,
about 1500—Sallustius, Jugurtha (CA. 1503). ,, ,,
1511—Ovid, Fasti. Deventer, Th. de Borne.

6. The Virgin and Child in glory—a 16mo cut copied from one by the Second Gouda Woodcutter (Sect. ix. 6).

15 Mar. 1499—Ludolphus (CA. 1185). Zwolle, P. van Os.

7. The Creation—an octavo cut.

1500—Bartholomei Canones (CA. 250 a). Zwolle, P. van Os.

SECT. 20. *The First Cuts used at Delft* (1477—1482).

1. Two devices used by Meer and Yemantszoen.

10 Jan. 1477—Bible in duytsche (CA. 290). Delft, Meer and Yemantszoen.

1. The Shield of Delft, HMT. 81 (104) a—a small device.
2. The Shields of the printers connected by a branch, HMT. 81 (104) b —a small device.

2. Three quarto cuts made for this book.

1482—Boec vanden gheboden Gods etc. (CA. 802). Delft, Meer.

1. A Priest instructing a man, woman and two children.
2. A man at Confession.
3. A Priest by the bedside of a dying man.

SECT. 21. *The Second Delft Woodcutter and his School* (1480—1498).

1. Vander Meer's device—a Lion holding shields with the arms of the printer and of the town of Delft. HMT. 82 (105) a 2.

12 Feb. 1480—Duytsche Souter (CA. 549). Delft, Meer.

2. A set of four quarto cuts copied from those made to illustrate the Seven Wise Men by the First Gouda Cutter (Sect. viii. 5).

A.	13 Jan. 1483—Hystorie van die seven wise mannen (CA. 953).	Delft,	Meer.
B.	about 1490—Konste om te leeren spreken (CA. 70).	,,	Snellaert.
C.	about 1490—Historie van die seven vroede (CA. 955).	,,	,,
D.	about 1490—Conste om te leeren spreken (CA. 71).	,,	,,
E.	April 1497—Seneca de quattuor virtutibus (not in CA.).	,,	,,

1. The Emperor Diocletian commending the Prince, his son, to the Seven Wise Men, HMT. 85 (108) c (ABCD).
2. The Empress making her defence before the Emperor (A).
3. One of the Wise Men addressing the Emperor on behalf of the Prince (AE).
4. The Prince delivering an oration after his acquittal in the presence of the Emperor, the Empress, and the Wise Men (AC).

3. A set of octavo cuts illustrative of the Game of Chess.

A.	14 Feb. 1483—Scaecspul (CA. 421).	Delft,	Meer.
B.	about 1484—Historie van Seghelijn (CA. 980).	,,	,,
C.	about 1488—Spiegel van Sassen (CA. 1595).	,,	,,
D.	about 1488—Historie van Karel ende Elegast (CA. 971).	,,	Snellaert.
E.	1489—Duijtschen doctrinael (CA. 604).	,,	,,
F.	about 1490—Baghijnken van Parijs (CA. 215).	,,	,,
G.	28 Sept. 1495—Modus legendi in utroque jure (CA. 1267).	,,	,,

1. The King seated on his throne (ACDG).
2. The Queen seated on her throne (AF).
3. The King's counsellor—the Bishop (AE).
4. The Knight riding to the r. (AB).
5. The Rook riding to the l. (AB).
6. The King's Rook's Pawn—a Labourer (A).
7. The King's Knight's Pawn—an Armourer (A).
8. The King's Bishop's Pawn—a Notary, represented as a man with shears, a hatchet and writing materials (A).
9. The King's Pawn—a Merchant, with scales and a money-bag (A).
10. The Queen's Pawn—an Apothecary, seated with a bag and an open book (A).
11. The Queen's Bishop's Pawn—an Innkeeper (A).
12. The Queen's Knight's Pawn—a Toll-gatherer, with a stick and a bag hanging from his girdle (A).
13. The Queen's Rook's Pawn—a Messenger, holding out his r. hand (A).

4. A King seated on his throne under a flat canopy, seven old men and three others standing by him, five on each side—half-fol. cut.

19 Aug. 1483	—Somme ruyrael (CA. 361).	Delft, Meer.
1503	—Somme rurael.	Antwerp, Eckert.
1512	—Gesta Romanorum.	,, ,,

5. Two half-folio cuts, possibly by another hand.

A. 13 July 1484	—Passionael, Vol. II. (CA. 1761).	Delft, Meer.
B. 9 Nov. 1484	—Passionael, Vol. I. (CA. 1760).	,, ,,
C. 1 Mar. 1487	—Passionael, Vols. I. and II. (CA. 1763).	,, ,,
D. 7 Oct. 1489	—Passionael, Vol. II. (CA. 1765).	,, Snellaert.
E. 27 Oct. 1489	—Passionael, Vol. I. (CA. 1765).	,, ,,
F. Aug. 1499	—Passionael, Vol. I. (CA. 1767).	,, Eckert.
G. 1500	—Passionael, Vol. II. (CA. 1767).	,, ,,

1. The Resurrection (ACEF).
2. *Salvator Mundi*, with the Blessed Virgin, SS. John Baptist, Peter, Francis of Assisi, George, Catherine and others (BCDG).

6. A small device used by Vander Meer, the shield of Delft hanging from a cord—HMT. 82 (105) e.

25 Mar. 1486	—Vier uterste (CA. 1319).	Delft, Meer.

7. A set of 58 quarto cuts of religious subjects.

A. 25 Mar. 1486	—Vier uterste (CA. 1319).	Delft, Meer.
B. 29 Nov. 1486	—Epistelen ende Evangelien (CA. 696).	,, ,,
C. 1 Mar. 1487	—Passionael (CA. 1763).	,, ,,
D. 18 Mar. 1487	—Ons heeren passie (CA. 1160).	,, ,,
E. 3 Sept. 1487	—Epistelen ende Evangelien (CA. 698).	,, ,,
F. 22 May 1488	—Ludolphus (CA. 1182).	,, Snellaert.
G. 1488	—Vier Uytersten (CA. 1321).	,, ,,
H. 1488	—Epistolen ende Evangelien (CA. 700).	,, ,,
K. 1488	—Sterfboeck (CA. 1619).	,, ,,
L. about 1488	—Vier vterste (CA. 1322).	,, ,,
M. { 27 Oct. / 7 Oct. } 1489	—Passionael, Vols. I and II (CA. 1765).	,, ,,
N. 1491	—De judicio Dei (CA. 580).	,, ,,
O. 27 Nov. 1495	—Tondalus visioen (CA. 1689).	,, ,,
P. 1495	—Liden ons heeren (CA. 1168).	,, ,,
Q. about 1495	—Proverbia (CA. 1454).	,, ,,
R. April 1496	—Quattuor nouissima (CA. 1309).	,, ,,
S. about 1498	—Lilium grammatice (CA. 1791).	,, Eckert.
T. about 1498	—De vier uterste (CA. 585).	,, ,,
V. { Aug. 1499 / 1500 }	—Passionael, Vols. I. and II. (CA. 1767).	,, ,,
X. 1503	—Ludolphus.	Antwerp, ,,
Y. 1512	—Ludolphus.	,, ,,

1. The Fall (F).
2. The Expulsion from Eden (F).
3. The Blessed Virgin going up the Temple steps (F).
4. The Annunciation (BCFMV).
5. The Visitation (BEF).
6. The Nativity (BCEFMV).
7. The Circumcision (BCEFMV).
8. The Adoration of the Magi (BCEFMV).
9. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple (BCEFMV).
10. The Flight into Egypt (F).
11. The Murder of the Innocents (BCEFMV).
12. Christ among the Doctors (BEFQS).
13. The Baptism of Christ (BEF).
14. The Temptation (BCFMV).
15. The Marriage at Cana (BEF).
16. Christ disputing in the temple (DF).
17. The Woman of Samaria (F).
18. The Supper at Bethany (BDEF).
19. The raising of Lazarus (BDEF).
20. Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (BDFH).
21. Christ clearing the Temple (DF).
22. The Last Supper (BDEF).
23. Christ washing the disciples' feet (DF).
24. The Agony in the garden (DF).
25. The Betrayal (DF).
26. The amazement of the soldiers (DF).
27. Christ before Annas (DF).
28. Christ before Caiaphas (DF).
29. Christ blindfolded (DF).
30. Christ before Pilate (DF).
31. The Scourging (DF).
32. Christ crowned with thorns (DF).
33. *Ecce Homo* (DF).
34. Pilate washing his hands (DF).
35. Christ falling under the cross (DF).
36. Christ stripped of his raiment (F).
37. The nailing to the cross (DF).
38. The Elevation of the cross (F).
39. The Virgin and St John by the cross (ABCDEFLMT).
40. Longinus' spear (F).
41. The Descent from the cross (DF).
42. The Entombment (DF).
43. The gate of Hades (DF).
44. The Resurrection (BDEF).
45. The Three Maries at the tomb (BDEF).
46. Christ as the Gardener (DF).

47. The Supper at Emmaus (BDEF).
48. Thomas convinced (DF).
49. Christ appearing to the Apostles (BEF).
50. The Ascension (BCDEFMV).
51. Pentecost (BCDEFMV).
52. The Assumption (CFMV).
53. The Mass of St Gregory (BEH).
54. Death (AKLT).
55. Judgment (ABFKLNT).
56. Hell (AKLOT).
57. Heaven (AL).

8. Some borders and side-pieces.

A.	1 Mar. 1487—Passionael, Vols. I. and II. (CA. 1763).	Delft,	Meer.
B.	22 May 1488—Ludolphus (CA. 1182).	,,	Snellaert.
C.	2 Nov. 1488—Twispraec der creaturen (CA. 568).	,,	,,
D.	{27 Oct. / 7 Oct.} 1489—Passionael, Vols. I. and II. (CA. 1765).	,,	,,
E.	10 Aug. 1491—Minnenbrief (CA. 1257).	,,	,,
F.	1498—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1120).	,,	Eckert.
G.	{Aug. 1499 / 1500} —Passionael, Vols. I. and II. (CA. 1767).	,,	,,

1. A three-sided border in one piece, representing figures of men and animals among tendrils with leaves and flowers. It is constantly used by Snellaert and Eckert in connexion with the 4to. device. It is reproduced HMT. 83 (106) *a* 2 (AC etc.).

2. A border for a 16mo. cut, made in one piece, representing entwined tendrils with flowers and leaves. It is almost always used in connexion with Snellaert's 16mo. device, HMT. 83 (106) *e* 3 (AEF etc.).

3, 4. Two architectural side pieces, representing figures in niches, to go by the side of 4to. cuts. They were used by Eckert van Homberch at Antwerp as late as 1520 (ABDG).

9. Cuts made as illustrations for the *Passionael.*

A.	1 Mar. 1487—Passionael, Vols. I. and II. (CA. 1763).	Delft,	Meer.
B.	22 May 1488—Ludolphus (CA. 1182).	,,	Snellaert.
C.	{27 Oct. / 7 Oct.} 1489—Passionael, Vols. I. and II. (CA. 1765).	,,	,,
D.	1497—Historie van S. Barbara (CA. 966).	,,	,,
E.	1498—Vader boeck (CA. 939).	,,	Eckert.
F.	{Aug. 1499 / 1500} —Passionael, Vols. I. and II. (CA. 1767).	,,	,,
G.	1505—Passionael.	Antwerp,	,,
H.	1516—Passionael.	,,	,,

Most of the cuts which appear in F are found also in G and H.

Folio cut.

1. A woman (*Scriptura*) expounding from a book to a man who kneels before her. A copy from the cut (Sect. x. 6. 1) by the First Antwerp Cutter used in the Ludolphus of 1487 (ABCF).

Half-folio cuts.

Winterstuc—Vol. I.

2. The Blessed admitted at the Gate of Heaven (ACF).
3. Four crowned Martyrs standing side by side (ACF).
4. St Martin cutting off a portion of his cloak (ACF).
5. The Consecration of a church (ACF).
6. St Anthony tormented by demons (ACF).
7. The Conversion of St Paul (ACF).
8. St Hubert kneeling before the stag (A; C and F employ 16 instead).

Somerstuc—Vol. II.

9. St George piercing the dragon with his lance (ACF).
10. St Helena finding the three crosses (ACF).
11. St John in the caldron (ACF).
12. An image carried in a procession (ACF).
13. The Martyrdom of St Erasmus (ACF).
14. The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Soldiers (ACF).
15. The Seven Sleepers (ACF).
16. The Seven Brothers (ACF).
17. St Peter *ad vincula* (ACF).
18. King Erakleus bringing the Holy Cross in at the gate of Jerusalem (ACF).

Quarto cuts.

Winterstuc—Vol. I.

19. St Katherine (ACF).
20. St Barbara (ACDF).

Somerstuc—Vol. II.

21. St Ursula (ACF).

Octavo cuts.

Winterstuc—Vol. I.

22. A Bishop standing in an open country with a closed book in his r. hand and his staff in his l. (ACF).
23. St Theodorus—with a feather in his cap and a sword in his r. hand (A).
24. St Elizabeth—with a crown in her r. hand and a leper at her feet (A).
25. St Cecilia—with an organ and a sword (ACF).
26. St Clement—a Pope, with an anchor in his r. hand (ACF).
27. An Abbot—to the l., in his r. hand his staff and in his l. a book (ACF).

28. Barlaam—on a pavement with a rosary in his l. hand (ACEF).

29. A Pope—his staff in his r. hand and a book in his l., standing on grass facing l. (ACF).

30. Mahomet—seated, with a bird on his shoulder (ACF).

31. Venerable Bede—standing on a pavement facing r. holding out his l. hand (AC).

32. St Andrew—with his cross (ACF).

33. The Virgin and Child in glory (ACF).

34. St Lucia—with a sword through her neck (A).

35. St Thomas—with a spear in his r. hand (A).

36. St Anastasia—as a nun, standing on a pavement with a book in her r. hand (ACF).

37. St Stephen—holding stones in his cloak (ACF).

38. St John—holding a cup from which he exorcises a serpent (A).

39. St Felix—with bare head, facing l., a book in his r. hand (A).

40. St Ponciaen—standing on a pavement with a drawn sword in his l. hand, a small cap on his head (A).

41. St Prisca—standing on a pavement with her long hair over her shoulders (A).

42. St Sebastian—a bow in his r. hand and an arrow in his l. (ACF).

43. St Agnes—with a lamb (ACF).

44. St Loy—as a Bishop with a hammer in his r. hand (ACF).

45. St Joest—seated with an open book instructing a fellow pilgrim who kneels before him (A).

46. St Augustine—as a Bishop with a heart in his r. hand. The heart is not always inked in, and then the cut is used for any Bishop (ACF).

47. St Apollonia—with the pincers in her l. hand (ACF).

48. St Scolastica—wearing a black hood and reading from a book (ACF).

49. St Dorothea—crowned with roses and with a flower basket in her r. hand (ACF).

50. St Peter *ad cathedram*—he is reading from a book (ACF).

51. St Matthias—with a halberd (AC).

Somerstue—Vol. II.

52. St Mary Magdalene—with a vase in her hand, also used for St Mary of Egypt (ACF).

53. St Mark—with the Lion (A).

54. St Philip—with a crosier in his r. hand (A).

55. St James the Less—with a club in his r. hand (A).

56. St Pancras—with a hawk on his l. wrist (ACF).

57. St Nereus and St Achilles—standing side by side with swords in their hands (A).

58. St Odolphus—with a stick in his r. hand and a chalice in his l. (A).

59. St Alexius—with a ladder (A).

60. St John Baptist—with a lamb (ACF).

61. St Paul—his l. hand resting on a sword, the r. holding a book in a case (A).

62. St Margaret—coming out of the body of a dragon (ACF).

63. St Peter Martyr—with a chopper sticking into his head (A).

64. St Mary Magdalene—seen through an archway with a vase in both hands (ACF).

65. St James the Great—with a cockle shell in front of his hat (AC).

66. St Christopher—with the Child on his back (ACF).

67. St Martha—with a bucket in her l. hand and a brush in her r. (ACF).

68. St Dominic—with a crosier in his l. hand and blessing with the r. (A).

69. St Laurence—with a gridiron (ACF).

70. St Hippolitus—clothed in armour (ACF).

71. St Roch—healed by an angel (ACF).

72. St Bartholomew—with a knife (ACF).

73. St Mamertinus—resting his r. hand on a sword (A).

74. The Decollation of St John the Baptist (ACF).

75. St Giles—with a fawn (ACF).

76. St Adrian—a lion at his feet (A).

77. St Cyprian—with a hunting horn (ACF).

78. St Maurice—with sword and banner, surrounded by four little men (ACF).

79. St Cosmas and St Damian—with medical instruments (ACF).

80. St Michael—with wings, the dragon at his feet (ACF).

81. St Francis of Assisi—with the 'stigmata' (ACF).

82. St Denis—carrying his head (ACF).

83. St Luke—with the ox (A).

84. St Simon and St Jude—Simon on the r. with a saw (ACF).

85. St Leonard—with two tassels hanging from a string in his r. hand (ACF).

86. St Quintin—nailed to a chair (ACF).

87. Sts Crispin and Crispinian—with a sword and awl and a hatchet (ACF).

88. St Clara—carrying a reliquary (A).

10. The maid Liedwy standing, crowned with flowers—octavo cut.

11. A quarto border of twining tendrils.

Both these nos. 9 and 10 occur in the following work.

3 March 1487—Leven van Liedwy (CA. 1123).	Delft, Meer.
11 June 1490—Leven van Liedwy (CA. 1124).	,, Snellaert.

12. A set of cuts for the illustration of Ludolphus' Life of Christ. They are copied from those by the First Antwerp Cutter (Sect. x. 6), used by Leeu in his editions of the same book.

A.	22 May 1488—Ludolphus (CA. 1182).	Delft,	Snellaert.
B.	2 Nov. 1488—Twispraec der creaturen (CA. 568).	,,	,,
C.	1498—Vader boeck (CA. 939).	,,	Eckert.
D.	1503—Ludolphus.	Antwerp,	,,
E.	1512—Ludolphus.	,,	,,

The whole set is found in A; most of the cuts reappear in D and E.

Folio cuts.

1. The Creation of all things (B).
2. God's Commands.
3. The story of SS. Joachim and Anne.
4. Christ teaching from a boat.
5. The Centurion's Son.
6. The Good Samaritan.
7. *Piscina probatica.*
8. The King who made a supper.
9. Blind Bartimæus.
10. The feeding of the Four Thousand.
11. The healing of the Blind Man of Bethsaida.
12. Peter's confession.
13. The Transfiguration.
14. Christ seated among the Twelve.
15. The Last Supper.
16. Christ before the Judge.
17. Three appearances of Christ after his Resurrection (C).
18. Christ's appearance to his Disciples.
19. The Gospel preached to all nations.

Half-folio cuts.

20. Adam and Eve trying to hide themselves.
21. St Joseph's rod budding.
22. The Testimony of John Baptist.
23. Nicodemus.
24. Christ baptising.
25. The Sermon on the mount.
26. Christ casting out a devil.
27. The Raising of the Widow's son at Nain.
28. The devils sent into the swine.
29. The Sick Man let down through the roof to be healed.
30. The Call of Matthew.
31. The Raising of Jairus' daughter.
32. The Healing of two Blind Men.
33. Christ and Mary Magdalene.
34. The Decollation of St John the Baptist.
35. The Feeding of the Five Thousand.
36. Peter walking on the water.

37. The Disciples plucking ears of corn on the Sabbath.
38. Christ healing the man with the withered arm.
39. Christ at table.
40. Christ healing the dropsical man.
41. Christ teaching in a room.
42. The Woman taken in adultery.
43. The Jews desire to stone Christ.
44. The Canaanitish woman.
45. Christ casting out a devil.
46. The Tribute-money in the fish's mouth.
47. The Lost Sheep.
48. The King demanding an account.
49. The question of Divorce.
50. The Rich Young Man.
51. The Labourers in the Vineyard.
52. The King counting the cost.
53. Lazarus in Abraham's bosom.
54. Christ healing ten lepers.
55. A Samaritan rejecting Christ.
56. Zacchaeus.
57. The Fig-tree cursed.
58. The Tribute-money.
59. The Ten Virgins.
60. The Debtor.
61. Judas bargaining with the Priests.
62. Enoch and Elias in Paradise.
63. Christ appearing to the Blessed Virgin.
64. The three Maries and the Disciples.
65. Christ appearing to the three Maries.
66. The Watch set by the Jews.
67. The miraculous Draught of Fishes.
68. Peter and John before the High Priest.
69. The death of Ananias.

Quarto cuts.

70. *Salvator mundi.*
71. The Blessed Virgin seated in a room.

Auxiliary cuts, which in combination with the quartos make half-folio cuts.

72. St Joseph's dream.
73. A landscape with a town behind.
74. A group of soldiers.
75. A side-piece similar to those in the *Passionael* of 1487.

13. Snellaert's device, a quarto cut of a Unicorn holding a blank shield; over his head is the shield of Delft—HMT. 83 (106) a 2. It is likewise used by his successor Eckert van Homberch.

2 Nov. 1488—Twispraec der creaturen (CA. 568). Delft, Snellaert.

14. A set of quarto copies of the *Ars Moriendi* series of cuts.

A. 1488—Sterfboeck (CA. 1619). Delft, Snellaert.
B. 27 Nov. 1495—Tondalus visioen (CA. 1689). ,, ,,

They all appear in A.

1. Temptation to distrust.
2. Encouragement to Faith.
3. Temptation to Despair (B).
4. Encouragement to Hope.
5. Temptation to Avarice.
6. Encouragement to Charity.
7. Temptation to Impatience.
8. Encouragement to Patience.
9. Temptation to Pride.
10. Encouragement to Humility.
11. The Death of the Sick Man.

15. A set of octavo cuts made to replace such of the regular *Passionael* series as had worn out.

A. 27 Oct.–7 Oct. 1489—Passionael, Vols. I. and II. (CA. 1765). Delft, Snellaert.
B. Aug. 1499–1500 —Passionael, Vols. I. and II. (CA. 1767). ,, Eckert.
C. 1505—Passionael, Vols. I. and II. Antwerp, ,,
D. 1516—Passionael, Vols. I. and II. ,, ,,

Most of them are found in C and D.

Winterstuc—Vol. I.

1. S. Theodorus—a sword in his r. hand and a book in his l. (AB).
2. S. Elizabeth—a crown in her r. hand, a book in her l. (AB).
3. S. Lucia—her l. hand resting on the cross of a sword (AB).
4. S. Thomas—with a spear, standing in the corner of a garden (AB).
5. S. John the Evangelist—standing before a low wall with a cup in his hand (AB).
6. S. Felix—standing under a roof facing r. with a book in his r. arm (AB).
7. S. Prisca—with a palm branch in her r. hand (AB).
8. S. Vincent—with a clawed weapon in his l. hand (AB).

9. S. Joest—with a pilgrim's staff in his l. hand and a book in his r. (AB).
10. S. Agatha—standing before a wall with pincers in her l. hand (A).
11. Charles the Great—with a sword in his l. hand, wearing a cloak over his armour (A).
12. William, Duke of Aquitaine—with a halberd in his l. hand and a shield hanging from his neck (AB).

Somerstuc—Vol. II.

13. S. Mark—with the lion; he holds a book in both hands (AB).
14. S. Philip—the crosier in his l. hand (AB).
15. S. James the Less—with the club in his l. hand (AB).
16. SS. Nereus and Achilles—the one on the l. rests the point of his sword on the ground (AB).
17. S. Servatius—with a key in his r. hand (AB).
18. S. Odolphus—with a book in his r. hand and a stick in his l. (AB).
19. S. Alexius—his r. hand resting on a ladder (AB).
20. S. Paul—his r. hand resting on a sword (AB).
21. S. Peter Martyr—he has a book in his l. hand; a chopper is sticking into his head (AB).
22. S. Dominic—with a book in his r. hand and a crosier in his l. (AB).
23. S. Augustine—under an archway with a heart in his r. hand (AB).
24. S. Adrian—a sword in his r. hand and a lion between his feet (AB).
25. S. Lambert—as a Bishop, with a basket of fire in his r. hand (AB).
26. S. Matthew—before a low wall with a halberd in his l. hand (AB).
27. S. Luke—reading from a book which he holds in his r. hand (AB).
28. S. Anne—standing holding in her arms the Virgin who holds the Child in her lap (AB).

16. A preacher addressing a congregation—4to cut.

about 1489—Die Kersten Ewe (CA. 1587).	Delft,	Snellaert.
about 1490—Der Kersten Eewe (CA. 1588).	,,	,,
1497—Spieghel der Kersten Eewe (CA. 1589).	,,	,,

17. An incomplete series of 16mo religious cuts.

A.	29 March 1490—O. L. Vrouwen croon (CA. 331).	Delft,	Snellaert.
B.	about 1490—Kersten spiegel (CA. 599).	,,	,,
C.	May 1490—Spieghel der volcomenheyt (CA. 1578).	,,	,,
D.	about 1490—Ghetidenboec (CA. 835).	,,	,,
E.	about 1492—Kerstenen spiegel (CA. 599a).	,,	,,
F.	about 1495—Hondert Articulen (CA. 188).	,,	,,
G.	1498—Leven ons heren (CA. 1120).	,,	Eckert.
H.	about 1498—Vier uterste (CA. 585).	,,	,,

These cuts were often used by Eckert van Homberch in the 16th century.

1. The Annunciation (A).
2. The Circumcision (A).
3. The Murder of the Innocents (G).
4. The Baptism of Christ (A).
5. The Entry into Jerusalem (G).
6. Christ clearing the Temple (G).
7. Christ washing the Disciples' feet (G).
8. *Ecce Homo* (G).
9. Christ bearing his Cross (A).
10. The Virgin and S. John by the Cross (BD).
11. The same subject. The Sun and Moon are above (C).
12. Angels collect the Blood of Christ (F).
13. The Entombment (A).
14. The Resurrection (A).
15. Christ as the Gardener (G).
16. Thomas convinced (G).
17. The Ascension (A).
18. The Assumption of the Virgin (A).
19. The Coronation of the Virgin (A).
20. The Virgin and her Mantle (A).
21. A woman kneeling in prayer (A).
22. Christ enthroned in Heaven (AH).
23. The Mass of S. Gregory (BCD).
24. The Image of Pity (C).
25. S. Veronica (C).
26. The Rosary (B).
27. Confession (B).
28. The Vigils of the Dead (D).
29. S. Anne with the Virgin and Child (A).
30. S. Francis (E).

Two narrow side-pieces representing ornamental columns (A).

18. The maid Liedwy—an 8vo cut, closely copied from No. 10 in this Section, above. A difference may be observed in the hand which holds a flower.

11 June 1490—Leven van Liedwy (CA. 1124). Delft, Snellaert.

19. Death and a young man. Death is copied from the cut in Bellaert's *Sonderentroest* of 15 Feb. 1484 (Sect. xi. 2. 31). —8vo cut.

about 1490—Een mirakel in den lande van Cleve (CA.356). Delft, Snellaert.

20. Quarto cuts copied from those made by the Haarlem Cutter in 1488 for an edition of the same book (Sect. xii. 9).

about 1490—Historie van die seven vroede (CA. 955). Delft, Snellaert.

1. A wise master addressing the Emperor.
2. The Empress addressing the Emperor.

21. Octavo Border in one piece, like that used in the *Passionael* of 1487, but with stars among the leaves.

about 1490—Ghetidenboec (CA. 835).	Delft,	Snellaert.
about 1492—Kerstenen spieghel (CA. 599a).	,,	,,
1498—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1120).	,,	Eckert.

22. Two small cuts made for this book.

10 Aug. 1491—Minnenbrief (CA. 1257). Delft, Snellaert.

1. The Child Christ appearing to the devout soul—half-octavo cut copied from that by the Haarlem Cutter (Sect. xii. 6. 1).
2. The Child Christ seated, holding a bird—16mo cut.

23. Snellaert's 16mo device, a Unicorn holding the shield of Delft, HMT. 83 (106) e 3—usually surrounded by

24. An Octavo Border in one piece.

Both Nos. 23 and 24 are found in the following book.

10 Aug. 1491—Minnenbrief (CA. 1257). Delft, Snellaert.

25. A set of cuts rudely imitated from the French series (Sect. xvi. 1), which Leeu introduced at Antwerp in 1491.

A.	about 1492—Kerstenen spieghel (CA. 599 a).	Delft,	Snellaert.
B.	17 July 1494—Die seven Droefheden (CA. 655).	,,	,,
C.	about 1494—Die hondert articulen (CA. 187).	,,	,,
D.	1498—Duytsche psolter (CA. 552).	,,	Eckert.
E.	1498—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1120).	,,	,,

The subject in each cut is represented as seen through an ornamental archway. Eckert van Homberch took these cuts with him to Antwerp, where they were still in use in the year 1520.

Octavo cuts.

1. The Annunciation (E).
2. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple (BE).
3. The Adoration of the Magi (E).
4. The *Pietà* (BE).
5. The Mass of S. Gregory (A).
6. David slaying Goliath (D).

16*mo cuts.*

7. The Visitation (E).
8. The Nativity (E).
9. The Adoration of the Shepherds (CE).
10. The Circumcision (E).
11. Christ among the Doctors (B).
12. The Home life at Nazareth (E).
13. The Baptism of Christ (E).
14. The Marriage at Cana (E).
15. The Raising of Lazarus (E).
16. The Supper at Simon's (E).
17. The Last Supper (E).
18. The Agony in the Garden (CE).
19. The Betrayal (E).
20. Christ before the High Priest (E).
21. Christ buffeted (E).
22. Christ before Pilate (E).
23. Christ before Herod; the type is that usual to Christ before Caiaphas (E).
24. The Scourging (E).
25. The Crowning with Thorns (E).
26. Pilate washing his hands (E).
27. Christ bearing his Cross (BE).
28. Christ nailed to the Cross (E).
29. The Crucifixion with the two thieves (CE).
30. The Virgin and St John by the Cross (ABC).
31. The Crucifixion with the Sun and Moon (C).
32. The Spear of Longinus (CE).
33. The Entombment (BE).
34. The Descent to Hades (E).
35. The Resurrection (E).
36. The Ascension (E).
37. Pentecost (E).
38. The Assumption (E).
39. The Last Judgment (E).
40. The Holy Trinity (E).
41. The Rosary (A).

26. A set of eight octavo borders in the French manner.

16 July 1494—Die gulden Letanye (CA. 1171). Delft, Snellaert.

27. S. Francis receiving the *stigmata*, an octavo cut.

16 July 1494—Die gulden Letanye (CA. 1171). Delft, Snellaert.

28. Two octavo cuts copied from those by the Haarlem cutter (Sect. xii. 18), which Leeu used in his edition of this book.

17 July 1494—Die seven Droefheden (CA. 655). Delft, Snellaert.
after 1500—Die seven Droefheden. Antwerp, Eckert.

1. The Mater Dolorosa.
2. The Virgin with the Child in her arms.

29. S. Bernard teaching a man—quarto cut.

about 1495—S. Bernaers leeringhe (CA. 269). Delft, Snellaert.
11 Aug. 1496—Expositio Hymnorum (CA. 722). ,, ,,
about 1496—Textus Sequentiarum (CA. 1533). ,, ,,

30. The Virgin and S. John by the Cross—folio cut.

about 1495—Missale Trajectense (CA. 1262). Delft, Snellaert.

31. A set of cuts copied from those by the Augsburg Woodcutter (Sect. xv.), which Leeu used in 1486.

27 April 1498—Fabulen van Esopus (CA. 29). Delft, Eckert.

These copies seem to have been made for a quarto book. For details about them see the list of the originals given above in Sect. xv.

32. Eight side-pieces employed to fit the above cuts (No. 31) to the folio page.

27 April 1498—Fabulen van Esopus (CA. 29). Delft, Eckert.

1. A man in a long robe to the r.
2. A similar figure to the l.
3. A tree.
4. Another tree with a thinner trunk.
5. A house.
6. A plant.
7. A copy of the preceding.
8. Another copy of the same.

33. The three Maries at the Tomb of Christ—octavo cut.

1498—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1120). Delft, Eckert.

SECT. 22. *The Brussels Woodcutter* (1484—1490).

1. Two quarto cuts made for

1484—Legenda Henrici et Kunigundis (CA. 1100). Brussels, Fratres communis vitae.

1. Henry II. and Kunigunde seated, HMT. 62 (74) c 1.
2. A crowned eagle holding the arms of Anthony of Rotenhan, Bp of Bamberg, HMT. 63 (75) a 2.

2. The Nativity—octavo cut.

1486–87—Carmen de passione (CA. 1001). Louvain, Heerstraten.

3. A set of cuts made to illustrate Boccaccio's book.

1487—Liber de claris mulieribus (CA. 294). Louvain, Heerstraten.

1. The Fall, HMT. 56 (94) a—quarto cut.

The rest of the series measure about 110 × 80 mm.

2. Ops, wife of Saturnus.
3. Juno as the deity presiding over marriage.
4. Venus with Cupid, and again with Vulcan and Mars.
5. Iris in a ship.
6. Europa lifted into a ship.
7. Libya.
8. Thisbe.
9. The Danaides slaying their husbands.
10. The Death of the children of Niobe.
11. The Queen Hypsipyle.
12. Jason riding away with Medea.
13. Arachne hanging from a tree.
14. The Erythrean Sibyl.
15. Perseus with Medusa's head, releasing Andromeda
16. Iole.
17. Deianira and Hercules.
18. Jocasta slaying herself.
19. The Sibyl Amalthea.
20. Nicostrata teaching three boys.
21. The Death of Procris.
22. Argeia, wife of Polynices.
23. Manto.
24. The wives of the Meniæ.
25. Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons.
26. Polyxena, daughter of Priam.
27. The Death of Cassandra.
28. Clytaemnestra.
29. The story of Helen.
30. Circe and the enchanted, HMT. 56 (94) b 1.
31. Camilla.
32. Penelope and her loom.
33. Lavinia, wife of Æneas.
34. Dido, and the building of Carthage.

35. Nicaula, Queen of Sheba.
36. Rhea Silvia, mother of Romulus.
37. Sappho among her books and instruments.
38. The Death of Lucretia.
39. Thamyris, the Thracian bard.
40. Lcæna tortured over a fire.
41. Cloelia, a hostage given to Porsena.
42. Veturia.
43. Artemisia, widow of Mausolus.
44. Virginia slain by her father.
45. Olympias, mother of Alexander.
46. Virginia Lucia.
47. A Roman girl feeding her father in prison.
48. Marcia painting and sculpturing, HMT. 56 (94) b 2.
49. Sulpicia.
50. Armonia.
51. Busa.
52. Sophonisba.
53. Theosena.
54. Beronice.
55. The Wife of Drigiagon.
56. Æmilia.
57. Claudia Quinta.
58. The wives of the Cimbri.
59. Julia.
60. Portia.
61. Hortensia.
62. Cleopatra and Anthony.
63. Agrippina, wife of Germanicus.
64. Paulina.
65. Agrippina, mother of Nero.
66. Epitaris.
67. Pompeia Paulina.
68. Sabina Poppaea.
69. Faustina Augusta.
70. Semiramis.
71. Johanna Anglica, the female Pope.
72. The Empress Irene.
73. Constantia married by the Pope to the Emperor.

4. The Annunciation. HMT. 57 (91) b 2—16mo cut.

1488-89—Compendium elegantiarum (CA. 3). Louvain, Ravescot.

5. A set of 16mo cuts for

Nov. 1490—Bouxken der minne Jhesu (CA. 363). Louvain, J. de Westfalia.

1. S. Francis receiving the *stigmata.*
2. The Virgin going up the Temple steps.
3. The Annunciation, copy in reverse of that used by Ravescot in the *Compendium* of 1488-89.
4. The Visitation.
5. The Nativity.
6. The Agony in the Garden.
7. The Virgin and S. John by the Cross.
8. The Entombment.
9. The Resurrection.
10. Christ as the Gardener.
11. The Ascension.
12. Pentecost.

6. Two devotional octavo cuts of the same date and style.

A. about 1490—Spieghel der simpelre menschen (CA. 595). Louvain?, Unknown printer.

B. about 1490—Spieghel der kerstenen menschen (CA. 596). Louvain, J. de Westfalia.

1. S. Francis receiving the stigmata, HMT. 51 (120) a 1 (B).
2. The Vision of S. Bernard, HMT. 123 (127) a 2 (A).

7. The Annunciation—octavo cut.

1497—O. L. Vrouwen Getijden (CA. 841). Leyden, Janszoen.

8. *Salvator Mundi*—octavo cut.

1498—Oefeninghe van den leven O.H. (CA. 1119). Leyden, Janszoen.

9. The monogram IHS between the Symbols of the four Evangelists—octavo cut.

about 1500—Van die eewighe wijsheyt (CA. 1787). Leyden, Janszoen.

SECT. 23. *The Second Louvain Woodcutter* (1487—1496).

1. Cuts for the *Visio lamentabilis.*

about 1487—Visio lamentabilis (CA. 1745). Louvain, Ravescot.

1. The Hermit's dream—quarto cut.
2. The Soul of a dead man sitting at the end of his open grave conversing with the body out of which it has come—half-4to cut
3. Two devils dragging the Soul away—half-4to cut.
4. Many devils drag the Soul in at the mouth of Hell—half-4to cut.

2. The operations of the Coiner—a head-piece.

3. Children climbing about a tendril—a side-piece.

Both these cuts occur on the following broadside:

after 9 Sept. 1487—Valuer vander munten (CA. 1703). Louvain, Ravescot.

4. Ravescot's device.

1488—P. de Rivo, Opus responsivum (CA. 1405). Louvain, Ravescot.

5. Cuts for Petrus de Rivo's *Opus responsivum.*

1488—P. de Rivo, Opus responsivum (CA. 1405). Louvain, Ravescot.

1. The author before the Virgin, HMT. 57 (91) a 1—quarto cut.
2. The Last Supper—fol. cut.
3. The Virgin and S. John by the Cross—fol. cut.
4. The Resurrection—fol. cut.

6. The Assumption—square 16mo cut.

Nov. 1490—Bouxken der minne Jhesu (CA. 363). Louvain, J. de Westfalia.

7. S. Augustine and the Trinity, HMT. 51 (120) a 2—octavo cut.

about 1490—Spieghel der kerstenen menschen (CA. 596). Louvain, J. de Westfalia.

8. The Virgin and S. Anne with the Child, HMT. 50 (88) c 3—octavo cut.

9. A man kneeling before the image of the Virgin surrounded by a Rosary—octavo cut.

Both these cuts occur in the following book:

7 Nov. 1496—Legenda S. Annae (CA. 1096). Louvain, J. de Westfalia.

SECT. 24. *The Third Louvain Woodcutter* (1490).

Miscellaneous cuts.

A. Nov. 1490—Bouxken der minne Jhesu (CA. 363). Louvain, J. de Westfalia.
B. 7 Nov. 1496—Legenda S. Annae (CA. 1096). ,, ,,

1. The Blessed Virgin with the Child in glory, HMT. 50 (88) c 4—8vo cut (AB).
2. The Home life at Nazareth—half-8vo cut (B).
3. Christ washing the disciples' feet—16mo cut (B).
4. *Ecce Homo*—16mo cut (B).
5. A chain—16mo side-piece (A).

SECT. 25. *The Third Gouda Woodcutter* (1486—1490).

1. A set of cuts made to illustrate the Romance of Godfrey of Boulogne.

A.	1485–86—Godevaert van Boloen (CA. 968).	Gouda, G. de Os.
B.	1517—Cronyck van Hollandt.	Leyden, J. Seversoen.
C.	1531—Cronike van Vlaenderen.	Antwerp, Vorsterman.
D.	about 1531—Coronijcke van Maximilaen.	,, ,,
E.	1577—Die oorloghen van Maximilaen.	,, J. van Ghelen.

The whole series is found in A, some of the cuts appear in E.

1. Pope Urban II. preaching the Crusade at Clermont.—The Pope is seated on the l., surrounded by Cardinals; the Emperor and a number of Knights stand on the r.; in the distance, behind a paling, is a crowd of people. HMT. 76 (124) a 1—fol. cut.

2. Peter the Hermit loses all his men through treachery of the Emperor of Constantinople.—In front are tents behind a paling; further off two groups of Knights are fighting, one of them on the l. being conspicuous with a huge sword; behind on the r. men are scaling the walls of a town—4to cut.

It is completed on the r. by a *side-piece* representing a body of mounted Knights on whose banner is a figure with a drawn sword.

3. The arrival at Constantinople of Hugh, brother of the King of France.—Godfrey stands bare-headed at the gate of the town on the l.; Hugh is on the r. at the head of a body of foot soldiers—half-fol. cut.

4. The Building of Constantinople.—A King stands on the l. addressing two workmen who are building the upper part of a gateway; a third is mounting a ladder, bearing a burden. In a compartment on the r. is the King lying in bed—half-fol. cut.

5. The French cross the sea to Nicaea and lay siege to it.—A body of Knights is seen riding out through a gate on the r.; further back five galleys can be made out in the water, from one of which men are landing on the opposite shore—half-fol. cut (B).

6. The Christians gain a victory near Nicaea.—Two bodies of Knights fight, those on the r. prepare to fly up hill to the r.—4to cut.

It is completed on the l. by a *side-piece* representing Knights carrying their lances straight up, one of them bears a banner with the device of Christ on the Cross.

7. Baldwin takes Tarsus.—On the r. a body of mounted Knights stand watching a herald give a letter to a King, who stands alone before the gate of a town on the l.—half-fol. cut (B).

8. The siege of Antioch.—The body of a Knight is seen in front among some tents; two guns are lying pointed at a town behind; the walls of the town are being scaled by soldiers—half-fol. cut (C).

9. The Turks endeavour to take the Block-house which the Christians had built.—On the l. are two tents and a cannon which a man is in the act of firing, on the r. some Knights fight on foot. Behind are a body of men on foot and on the l. some men entering through a gate—half-fol. cut (BCD).

10. Jousts before the walls of Antioch in honour of the embassy of the King of Babylon.—The Court look down from the walls of the town behind at two bodies of Knights who ride against each other, lance in rest —4to cut.

It is completed on the r. by a *side-piece* representing men standing by their tents, looking on.

11. The Christians capture cattle.—In front and on the r. are the tents of a camp towards which a party of soldiers drive some cattle; behind on the l. is a town—half-fol. cut (D).

12. The storming of Antioch and of the inner citadel.—In front are the walls of a town through a gate in which a body of soldiers are entering. Within the walls, on the r., is the citadel which is being attacked and defended—half-fol. cut.

13. The mother of Corboran beseeching her son to raise the siege of Antioch.—In front are two bodies of soldiers standing about their tents. A woman stands in the mid. addressing a man who holds a drawn sword in his hand. Behind is the town, HMT. 77 (125) a 2—half-fol. cut (B).

14. Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and St Peter, appearing to a priest and promising victory to the Christians within five days, if they fast and pray.—The priest lies on a bench on the r., the three persons of his vision stand before him. Three men are working behind on the l.—half-fol. cut.

15. The Christians send an embassy to Corboran, who is besieging Antioch.—Three men with bare heads advance to the l., the front one holding out a letter to the King who stands before a tent door—half-fol. cut.

16. The Christians, assisted by angels, defeat the infidels.—Two large bodies of Knights charge each other, lowering their lances as they approach; behind are foot soldiers and archers fighting. In the distance a large body of men ride away to the l.—half-fol. cut (BD).

17. Prince Boemont proposing to the army that they should name him King of Antioch.—The Prince, helmet in hand, stands on the l. in front of three men; two men stand on the r., one of whom addresses him. The scene is in a courtyard. HMT. 77 (125) a 1—half-fol. cut (B).

18. Jerusalem taken.—An army of Knights advance in column from r. and l. and enter a gate in the mid., others scale the wall with ladders —fol. cut (D).

19. Godfrey crowned.—He sits in the mid., the Pope on the l. and the Emperor on the r. hold a crown of thorns over his head. Two cardinals and two courtiers stand by—half-fol. cut.

20. Baldwin crowned.—He is seated with a sceptre in his r. hand. A King and another man hold a crown over his head. Two men stand by —half-fol. cut.

21. The Christians in Jerusalem see signs in heaven.—In a large open space within the walls they stand looking up at three suns and twelve stars, another large star is above the gate on the r.—fol. cut.

22. The death of Baldwin.—The head of the bed is to the r.; six men are in the room, two of whom stand on the far side of the bed—half-fol. cut.

2. The folio device of Gotfridus de Os (or van Ghemen)—an Elephant carrying a *Howdah* (Gouda) from which float two flags with the arms of Maximilian and of Gouda, HMT. 77 (125) a 3.

1485–86—Godevaert van Boloen (CA. 968). Gouda, G. de Os.

3. A master lecturing three scholars, HMT. 72 (111) a 2—quarto cut.

13 Nov. 1486—Opusculum grammaticale (CA. 1331). Gouda, G. de Os.
1486–1489—Konste om te leren spreken (CA. 69 note). ,, ,,
6 Feb. 1499—Expositio Hymnorum. Westminster, W. de Worde.
20 Dec. 1516—Whitintoni Editio. York, Ursin Mylner.

4. Quarto cuts for the Romance of Lantsloet and Sandrijn.

1486–1489—Lantsloet ende Sandrijn (CA. 974). Gouda, G. de Os.

1. Lantsloet and Sandrijn standing by a tree, HMT. 73 (119) a 1.
2. Lantsloet lying in bed whilst his mother talks to Sandrijn.
3. A Knight meeting Sandrijn as he rides out hunting.

5. Three young men bare-headed before a king and one of his courtiers; in the background a vessel, and men on the shore, HMT. 79 (126) a 1, one of a set of quarto cuts, but only one leaf of the book is known to exist.

1486–1489—Huon de Bordeaux (CA. 1011). Gouda, G. de Os.

6. A set of folio cuts made to illustrate the poem 'Le Chevalier délibéré.'

A. 1486–1489—Le Chevalier délibéré (CA. 1083). Gouda, G. de Os.
B. after 1498—Le Chevalier délibéré (CA. 1084). Schiedam.
C. 1503—De camp van der doet. ,,
D. 1511—Vaderboek. Leyden, Severseen.
E. 1511—Die seven sacramenten. ,, ,,
F. 1517—Cronyck van Hollandt. ,, ,,

The cuts are found complete in A, B, and C. Cut-up portions of most of the blocks appear in F.

1. The combat between the Knight and Death.—He rides from the l., lance in rest, against Death, who is armed with a dart and a portion of a coffin-lid as a shield.

2. The Knight conversing with the lady *Pensée*.—They stand in a field before a large castle. The Knight wears a black robe, *Pensée* is richly clad.

3. The Knight armed for his quest by *Pensée*.—He stands in the mid. putting on the breastplate *pouoir* which a page holds for him. *Pensée* on the r. holds his spear and shield. His horse *Vouloer* is held by a man on the l.

4. The combat between the Knight and *Messire Hutin*.—The two Knights fight with swords, their lances lying broken on the ground. A woman (*Reliques de jeunesse*) on horseback takes hold of Hutin's shield and stops the fight.

5. The Knight and the Hermit *Entendement*.—They stand talking on the r.; another Hermit on the l. holds the reins of the Knight's horse.

6. The Knight and the Hermit at table under trees. The Hermit's assistant stands on the r. with a jug; on the l. is a dog gnawing a bone, HMT. 75 (118) a 1 (D).

7. The Hermit shows his relics to the Knight.—They stand before the door of a church (*le cloistre de souuenance*); the relics are lying on the floor within (D).

8. The Hermit gives the lance *Regime* to the Knight.—The Knight mounted on his horse receives a lance from the Hermit who stands on the l.; behind is a church among trees.

9. The Knight fights with Old Age and has to yield himself prisoner.—They fight on foot, their lances lying broken on the ground. *Paine*, the black horse of Old Age, is seen behind in the act of kicking *Vouloer*.

10. The Knight led to the Palace of Love.—The Knight, mounted on his horse and led by *Desir*, looks into the mirror which *Souuenir* holds up to him. *Abusion*, as a fool with a bunch of keys, stands on the l. Behind is the Palace of Love with five windows, from which people are looking down. Music is being played on the roof.

11. Memory showing the Knight the tombs of great men.—They stand on the l. in a grave-yard. *Le grant Turc* is seated on a tomb on the r.

12. The combat between Philip the Good and *Debile*.—The antagonists fight on foot in the mid. within a paling, a crowd standing around. *Atropos deesse de mort* with her lance *Deffiance* sits behind. The Knight and Memory are in front on horseback looking on.

13. The combat between Charles the Bold and *Accident*.—They ride against each other, the Knight and Memory looking on as before. R. and l. are soldiers on foot, and behind is *Atropos* enthroned.

14. The Knight forbidden by *Atropos* to help Mary of Burgundy in her combat with *Accident*.—The Knight and Memory are seated on horse-

back in front, the page *Respit* holding the rein of *Vouloer*. A waggon is drawn past them. Further back a procession moves to the l. bearing a woman in armour on a litter. *Atropos* is behind on the l.

15. The Knight conducted home by Memory.—They ride towards the r. through a pretty country where two men are reaping and another is gathering fruit. On the r. a stork is seen on her nest on the roof of a castle.

16. The Hermit instructing the Knight how to conduct himself.—The Knight lies in bed in a room with a groined ceiling, the Hermit seated by his side. A dog lies on a cushion in front on the l.

7. G. de Os van Ghemen's quarto device—an Elephant carrying a Howdah (Gouda) from which float two flags with the arms of Maximilian and of Gouda, HMT. 75 (118) a 2.

1486–1489—Le Chevalier délibéré (CA. 1083).	Gouda, G. de Os.
after 1498—Le Chevalier délibéré (CA. 1084).	Schiedam.
1503—De camp van der doet.	,,
1511—Die seven sacramenten.	Leyden, Seversoen.

8. Some old cuts found scattered in the Dutch Chronicle of 1517, clearly the work of this woodcutter. They must have been made for some lost book.

1517—Cronyck van Hollandt.	Leyden, J. Seversoen.

The reference in the bracket after each description is to the leaf on which the cut occurs.

1. The Building of a Fortress.—A King stands on the r. in front, by the side of a piece of water in which two monsters are fighting. Three men are engaged in building a castle gateway behind. A copy in reverse of No. 4 in *Godevaert van Boloen* (Sect. xxv. 1)—4to cut (17 a).

2. A Skirmish.—A few Knights ride against each other in very loose order. Numerous archers and one spearman fight on foot among the horsemen. In the distance l. is a town, and r. tents—half-fol. cut (19 a).

3. The Siege of a Town.—Bodies of men advance towards the walls under the shelter of screens which run on wheels. Archers shoot from the battlements behind. In front, r. and l., are tents—half-fol. cut (32 a).

4. A Reconnoitre.—Four Knights stand in the open under the walls of the town on the r.; on the l. are tents; in the distance ships are seen on the water—half-fol. cut (48 a).

5. The Building of a Town.—In the front is a river with boats, further back, in the middle of a town, three men are at work building a tower. A King and two other men stand at the foot of it—4to cut (53 a).

6. An Execution.—The executioner prepares to cut off the head of a man who kneels to the l. A King and some courtiers stand on the r. Behind is a town over the gate of which are five heads stuck on to poles.

A ship is on the l. lying by a quay—part of a folio cut, reduced to 4to size (184 a).

7. A Combat between two Knights.—They fight on foot in front on the r. On the far side of a piece of water with a swan is a wood, amongst the trees of which a man salutes a lady who is attended by another woman. Two stags are standing by the water on the l.—half-fol. cut (260 b).

8. An Engagement.—Two bodies of Knights ride against each other, those on the r. being Burgundian, those on the l. French. The middle of the cut is quite blank—half-fol. cut (370 a).

9. An Engagement.—Similar to the preceding, but the French are on the r. and the Burgundians on the l.; their lances also cross in the middle —half-fol. cut (375 a).

9. Three 16mo cuts for the 'Minnebrief.'

1489–90—Minnebrief (CA. 1256). Leyden, G. de Os.

1. The Soul receiving Christ's love-letter from an angel.
2. The Blessed Virgin and St John by the Cross.
3. The Printer's device, a kneeling angel holding a shield with the arms of Leyden, two keys crossed.

10. Four devotional octavo cuts perhaps by this hand.

A.	5 Oct. 1496—Ghetidenboec (CA. 840 a).	Schoonhoven.
B.	28 Feb. 1497—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1109).	,,
C.	about 1497—Devote Materien (CA. 1220).	,,
D.	28 Mar. 1498—Ghetidenboec (CA. 842).	,,
E.	1498—Spiegel der kerstenen menschen (CA. 601).	,,
F.	15 Oct. 1499—Spieghel der volmaectheyt (CA. 1579).	,,
G.	1499—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1113).	,,
H.	31 Mar. 1500—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 346).	,,

1. The Annunciation (DG).
2. The Virgin and St John by the Cross (ABDE).
3. The Vigils of the Dead (C).
4. The Last Judgment (FGH).

SECT. 26. *Miscellaneous Cuts used at Gouda* (after 1486).

1. Two quarto cuts of the Emperor Frederick's visit to Trier.

after 1486—Komst van Keyser Frederyck te Trier (CA. 764). Unknown printer.

1. Trier.—On the l. is the gateway of the town, over which floats a scroll with the word *Trier*. From under this the Emperor and a Bishop are seen riding towards the r. at the head of a body of men, escorted by music.

2. The Banquet.—The Emperor and the Bishop sit at a table on the r. under a canopy. The Duke of Burgundy sits at the Emperor's l. hand.

Two other Bishops sit at a table on the l. Two pages and two trumpeters stand on the l.

2. A set of quarto cuts to illustrate the wars of Julius Caesar.

after 1486—Die jeeste van Julius Cesar (CA. 393). Unknown printer.

1. Julius Caesar—standing on the orb of the world clothed in armour; in his r. hand a book, and in his l. hand a dagger. A shield hangs from his l. arm and on it and his breast-plate are imperial eagles.

2. Nimeguen.—On the r. a man kneels before the Emperor who rides at the head of a large body of soldiers. Behind on the l. is a town over which on a scroll can be read the word *Ymmaghen.*

3. The Rout of the Hercinians.—Two groups of soldiers in armour are on the r.; a third group on the l. march away into the distance where they seem to be opposed by a small body with spear and axe.

4. The Siege of Belgies.—The town is on the r. with the word *Belgies* over it. It is being stormed by a party of men who attack near a gate. The hostile camp fills the foreground.

5. The Capture of Belgies.—In front, behind a fence and wooden gateway, are seen the tents of a camp which stretch away into the distance, surrounding the town which stands on the l.; women and children appear on the r. and a cannon lies near a tent. In a second state the word *Belgies*, which was over the town, seems to have been cut out.

SECT. 27. *The Fourth Gouda Woodcutter* (1496).

1. The Mass of S. Gregory—16mo cut.

20 April 1496—Getyden van O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 840). Gouda, Collacie Broed.
about 1496—Spieghel der gracien (not in CA.). ,, ,,
about 1500—Horarium (CA. 995). Schoonhoven.

2. The maid Liedwy standing with a flower in her hand, HMT. 80 (101) a 1—quarto cut.

10 June 1496—Leven van Liedwy (CA. 1125). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

3. The Virgin and S. John by the Cross—16mo cut; and

4. An architectural border in one piece, to fit a 16mo cut.

before 3 Oct. 1496—Kalendarium (not in CA.). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

5. The Virgin and Child in Glory, HMT. 80 (101) b 1—16mo cut; and

6. A border to fit the preceding, HMT. 80 (101) b 1.

before 3 Oct. 1496—Kalendarium (not in CA.). Gouda, Collacie Broed.
3 Oct. 1496—Devote getijden (CA. 1116). ,, ,,

7. Printer's 16mo device, an angel holding the shield of Gouda, HMT. 80 (101) b 2. It is copied from that used by G. de Os (or van Ghemen) at Leyden.

3 Oct. 1496—Devote getijden (CA. 1116). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

8. Two quarto cuts copied from the corresponding cut in the Second Gouda woodcutter's set of sixty-eight (Sect. ix. 2).

3 Oct. 1496—Devote getijden (CA. 1116). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

1. The Image of Pity.
2. The Entry into Jerusalem.

9. A man confessing to a Priest—16mo cut.

3 Oct. 1496—Devote getijden (CA. 1116). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

10. A rosary with the wounds of Christ, HMT. 80 (101) c 1 —16mo cut.

about 1496—Corte doernen Crone (CA. 504). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

11. The Annunciation—16mo cut.

about 1496—Spieghel der gracien (not in CA.). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

12. Arms of Pope Alexander VI.—16mo cut; and

13. Arms of Pope Sixtus IV.—16mo cut.

about 1496—Aflaten van dye broederscap (CA. 51). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

14. The Trinity with the Virgin and S. Joseph—8vo cut.

about 1500—Historie van den H. Joseph (CA. 970). Gouda, Collacie Broed.

SECT. 28. *Cuts used at Deventer* (1487—1493).

(*a*) *By Jacobus de Breda* (1487—1493).

1. A small woodcut ornament, HMT. 66 (114) a 2.

1486-1487—Modus confitendi (CA. 1233). Deventer, J. de Breda.

2. A small woodcut ornament, about the size of a shilling.

1487—Gasparini Epistolae (CA. 776). Deventer, J. de Breda.
1486-1487—Sententiarum variationes (CA. 749). ,, ,,

3. A small hexagonal ornament, HMT. 66 (114) b 1.

1486-1487—Modus confitendi (CA. 1233). Deventer, J. de Breda.
1486-1487—Columella de cultura hortorum (CA. 470). ,, ,,
1486-1487—Gasparini Epistolae (CA. 775). ,, ,,
1486-1487—Expositio missae (CA. 889). ,, ,,

4. The Last Supper—quarto cut.

1487—Gasparini Epistolae (CA. 776). Deventer, J. de Breda.

5. The Mass of S. Gregory—quarto cut.

5 Apr. 1490—Libellus de modo confitendi (CA. 1136). Deventer, J. de Breda.
9 Aug. 1490—Expositio missae (CA. 885). ,, ,,
1489–1492—Expositio missae (CA. 890 a). ,, ,,
1489–1492—Esopus Grecus (CA. 32). ,, ,,
1489–1492—Quatuor novissima (CA. 1306). ,, ,,
1489–1492—Quatuor novissima (CA. 1312). ,, ,,
1489–1492—Alexander Gallus, pars prima (CA. 119). ,, ,,
1489–1492—Plato. Hipparchus et Theages (CA. 1421). ,, ,,
1489–1492—Composita verborum (CA. 481 a). ,, ,,

6. A wise Master addressing a King, HMT. 66 (114) g—quarto cut; part of a lost series.

1489–1492—Bossi sermo in passionem (CA. 358). Deventer, J. de Breda.
after 1491—Seneca de quatuor virtutibus (not in CA.). ,, ,,
about 1500—Seneca de moribus (CA. 1517). ,, ,,
about 1500—Jac. Faber. Carmen (CA. 725). ,, ,,

7. A square quarto cut of the monogram IHS between medallions containing the symbols of the Evangelists, HMT. 66 (114) f 1.

1 March 1493—Epistolen ende Evangelien (CA. 703). Deventer, J. de Breda.

This cut was used by J. de Breda in, at least, 48 books besides the above, where it appears for the first time. It was still in use in the 16th century at the same press.

8. Three 16mo cuts.

about 1499—Quattuor Novissima (not in CA.). Deventer, J. de Breda.

1. The Last Judgment, angels blowing trumpets.
2. The Mouth of Hell; it opens on the left.
3. The Ascension.

9. Virgil standing with a book in his l. hand—8vo cut.

about 1499—Virgil, Æneid, Lib. II. (CA. 1730). Deventer, J. de Breda.

10. Right side-piece from some folio border, roughly copied from that commonly used by Bellaert.

about 1500—Mancinelli Thesaurus (not in CA.). Deventer, J. de Breda.

(*b*) *By Richardus Paffroet* (1488—1493).

11. Paffroet's first quarto Device—S. Lebuin standing on grass, between two shields of Deventer, the printer's mark on the ground in front, HMT. 65 (113) b. Used for the first time in

4 Sept. 1488—Expositio missae (CA. 883). Deventer, Paffroet.

and for the last time in

4 May 1489—Compendium grammaticae (CA. 474). ,, ,,

12. Paffroet's second quarto Device—S. Lebuin standing under a canopy, with the arms of Deventer at his feet, HMT. 65 (113) a. Used for the first time in

4 May 1489—Compendium grammaticae (CA. 474). Deventer, Paffroet.

and for the last time in

18 Nov. 1491—Colloquium peccatoris (CA. 468). ,, ,,

13. A Professor teaching five men, HMT. 64 (112) e 1—4to cut.

16 July 1489—Cicero de Senectute (CA. 429). Deventer, Paffroet.
14 July 1495—Farrago (CA. 742). ,, ,,

It is found in at least ten other books between these two.

14. The Coronation of the Virgin, HMT. 64 (112) g—16mo cut.

1492—O. L. Vrouwen croen etc. (CA. 330). Deventer, Paffroet.
1497—Horarium (CA. 991). ,, ,,

15. The Supper at Emmaus—16mo cut.

1489-1492—Bossi sermo (CA. 358). Deventer, J. de Breda.

The cut is often used in the early years of the 16th century.

16. Two quarto cuts.

A. 1493-1495—Boeck van den Echten Staete (CA. 724). Deventer, Paffroet.
B. 8 Nov. 1497—Cato moralissimus (CA. 413). ,, ,,

A Professor and a young man standing, HMT. 65 (113) d (AB).
A young man and three people at table (A).

Sect. 29. *The First Leyden Woodcutter* (1494).

1. A series of 16mo religious cuts.

A. 10 Dec. 1494—Ghetiden van O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 837). Leyden, Janszoen.
B. 1497—O. L. Vrouwen getijden (CA. 841). ,, ,,
C. 25 May 1498—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1111). ,, ,,

D. 14. Dec. 1498—Van O. L. Vrouwen mantel (CA. 305). Leyden, Janszoen.
E. 1498—Oefeninghe vanden leven O. H. (CA. 1119). ,, ,,
F. 1500—Ghetiden van O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 846). ,, ,,
G. 1500—Leven O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 1122). ,, ,,
H. about 1500—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1114). ,, ,,
K. about 1500—O. L. Vrouwen ween (CA. 1779). ,, ,,

1. The Visitation (A).
2. The Nativity (A).
3. *Gloria in Excelsis* (A).
4. The Adoration of the Shepherds (CEH).
5. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple (A).
6. The Adoration of the Magi (A).
7. The Circumcision (A).
8. The Flight into Egypt (A).
9. The Home life at Nazareth (CE).
10. The Baptism of our Lord (CE).
11. The Marriage at Cana (C).
12. Pilate washing his hands (CE).
13. Christ crucified between two Thieves (ACEGH).
14. The sponge given to Christ on the Cross (BCEGH).
15. The spear of Longinus (CE).
16. Pentecost (B).
17. The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (CEGH).
18. The Mass of St Gregory (BDF).
19. The Holy Trinity (BCE).
20. The Rosary (K).

2. An octavo border.

25 May 1498—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1111). Leyden, Janszoen.

It is also used in later books.

SECT. 30. *The Second Leyden Woodcutter* (1498—1500).

1. A set of large octavo or small quarto religious cuts.

A. 25 May 1498—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1111). Leyden, Janszoen.
B. 1498—Oefeninghe vanden leven O. H. (CA. 1119). ,, ,,
C. 16 Oct. 1499—Spieghel der volcomenheit (CA. 1580). ,, ,,
D. 1499—Die vier oefeninghen (CA. 345). ,, ,,
E. about 1499—O. L. Vrouwen Souter (CA. 279). ,, ,,
F. 1500—Ghetiden O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 846). ,, ,,
G. 1500—Leven O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 1122). ,, ,,
H. about 1500—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1114). ,, ,,
K. about 1500—Troestinghe (CA. 1686). ,, ,,
L. about 1500—O. L. Vrouwen ween (CA. 1779). ,, ,,
M. 9 Aug. 1503—Epistelen ende Ewangelien. ,, J. Severzoen.

N. 11 Feb. 1511—Die negen couden. Delft, H. Lettersnider.
O. 6 March 1517—Fasciculus mirrae. ,, Janszoen.

In each cut the subject is represented under an arch, the top of which does not come within it. Many of the cuts are found in MNO.

1. The Annunciation (ABEH).
2. The Visitation (ABH).
3. The Nativity (ABEGH).
4. The Circumcision (ABH).
5. The Adoration of the Magi (ABGH).
6. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple (ABH).
7. The Flight into Egypt (G).
8. The Murder of the Innocents (ABH).
9. The Baptism of Christ (HK).
10. The Marriage at Cana (GH).
11. The Woman of Samaria (ABH).
12. The Raising of Lazarus (ABH).
13. The Entry into Jerusalem (ABH).
14. Christ clearing the Temple (BH).
15. The Last Supper (ABH).
16. Christ washing the Disciples' feet (ABH).
17. The Agony in the Garden (ABH).
18. The Betrayal (ABH).
19. Christ before Annas (ABH).
20. Christ buffeted by the soldiers (ABH).
21. Christ before Caiaphas (BH).
22. Christ before Pilate (BH).
23. Christ before Herod (ABH).
24. The Scourging of Christ (ABH).
25. Christ crowned with thorns (BH).
26. *Ecce Homo* (BH).
27. Christ falling under his Cross (BH).
28. Christ nailed to the Cross (ABH).
29. The Virgin and St John by the Cross (ABH).
30. The Descent from the Cross (ABH).
31. The *Pietà* (ABEHL).
32. The Entombment (ABH).
33. Christ at the gate of Hades (ABH).
34. The three Maries (ABH).
35. The Resurrection (ABGH).
36. Christ as the Gardener (ABH).
37. The Supper at Emmaus (ABH).
38. Thomas convinced (ABH).
39. The Ascension (ABH).
40. Pentecost (ABH).

41. The Image of Pity (BCDH).
42. The Last Judgment (ABDH).
43. Heaven (DH).
44. Death striking at a young man (DF).
45. The mouth of Hell (D).
46. The Teacher instructing the Soul, who kneels as a maid before him (D).
47. The Holy Trinity (FH).
48. St Joachim's offering refused, and the Angel appearing to him (G).
49. The Angel appearing to St Anne, and the meeting of St Joachim and St Anne (G).
50. The Birth of the Blessed Virgin (G).

2. The Virgin and Child in glory on the crescent—8vo cut.

14 Dec. 1498	Van O. L. Vrouwen mantel (CA. 305).	Leyden,	Janszoen.
1498	Oefeninghe vanden leven O. H. (CA. 1119).	,,	,,
about 1499	O. L. Vrouwen souter (CA. 279).	,,	,,
1500	Ghetiden van O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 846).	,,	,,
1500	Leven O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 1122).	,,	,,
about 1500	Troestinghe (CA. 1686).	,,	,,
about 1500	Leven ons Heren (CA. 1114).	,,	,,

3. The Mass of S. Gregory—8vo cut.

16 Oct. 1499—Spieghel der volcomenheit (CA. 1580). Leyden, Janszoen.

4. A set of 16mo cuts often used in the 16th century, several of them appearing in D, E and F.

A.	1500—Ghetiden van O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 846).	Leyden,	Janszoen.
B.	1500—Leven O. L Vrouwen (CA. 1122).	,,	,,
C.	about 1500—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1114).	,,	,,
D.	1503—Epistelen ende Ewangelien.	,,	Severzoen.
E.	18 Dec. 1506—Wandelinghe der kersten menschen.	Amsterdam,	,,
F.	14 April 1522—Leven ons Heren.	Amsterdam,	Doen Pieterszoen.

1. David slaying Goliath (A).
2. The Presentation of the Blessed Virgin (B).
3. The Annunciation (B).
4. The Visitation (B).
5. The Circumcision (B).
6. Christ amongst the Doctors (B).
7. The Home life at Nazareth (C).
8. Pilate washing his hands (C).
9. The Virgin and St John by the Cross (B).
10. The spear of Longinus (C).

11. The Centurion's confession (B).
12. The *Pietà* (B).
13. The Ascension (B).
14. Pentecost (AB).
15. The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin (B).

SECT. 31. *The First Schoonhoven Woodcutter* (1496).

1. A set of large octavo and a set of 16mo religious cuts.

A.	5 Oct 1496—Ghetidenboec (CA. 840 a).	Schoonhoven.
B.	28 Feb. 1497—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1109).	,,
C.	10 Nov. 1497—Oefeninghe van der passien (CA. 1327).	,,
D.	24 Dec. 1497—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1110).	,,
E.	about 1497—Devote materien (CA. 1220).	,,
F.	28 March 1498—Ghetidenboec (CA. 842).	,,
G.	1498—Spieghel der kerstenen menschen (CA. 601).	,,
H.	15 Oct. 1499—Spieghel der volmaectheyt (CA. 1579).	,,
K.	1499—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1113).	,,
L.	31 March 1500—Vier oefeningen (CA. 346).	,,

Octavo cuts.

1. The Nativity (K).
2. The Presentation in the Temple (K).
3. The Flight into Egypt (K).
4. The Betrayal (CK).
5. Christ before Pilate (C).
6. The Scourging of Christ (CK).
7. Christ bearing his Cross (K).
8. Christ nailed to the Cross (C).
9. The Virgin fainting at the foot of the Cross (BCDGK).
10. The *Pietà* (ACFK).
11. The Entombment (CK).
12. The Resurrection (K).
13. The Image of Pity (HKL).
14. The Mass of St Gregory (EGH).
15. Christ under the mystic Winepress (K).
16. An angel holding a wreath of roses, HMT. 118 (102) d (G).

16*mo cuts.*

1. St Anne with the Virgin and Child (AF).
2. The Child Jesus as *Salvator Mundi* (AEF).
3. The Last Supper (AFK).
4. Christ crowned with thorns (H).
5. Pentecost (AFK).
6. The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (K).
7. Christ and the Blessed Virgin in glory with Saints and Angels (AFKL).

SECT. 32. *The Second Schoonhoven Woodcutter* (1498—1500).

1. The Virgin and Child in glory—8vo cut.

28 March 1498—Ghetidenboec (CA. 842). Schoonhoven.
after 1500—Crans van duysent rosen. Leyden, P. Janzoon.

2. S. Augustine, HMT. 118 (102) e 1—square 4to cut.

1 Feb. 1499—Breviarium Windesemense (CA. 368, 369). Schoonhoven.
1508—Statuta Windesemensia. ,,

3. A set of cuts, chiefly 16mos.

1499—Leven ons Heren (CA. 1113). Schoonhoven.

1. The Adoration of the Magi—16mo cut.
2. The Baptism of Christ—16mo cut.
3. The Raising of Lazarus—16mo cut.
4. The Entry into Jerusalem—16mo cut.
5. Christ at the Gate of Hades—8vo cut.
6. The Supper at Emmaus—16mo cut.
7. The Ascension—16mo cut.

4. New cuts for the 'Four last Things.'

A. 31 March 1500—Die vier oefeningen (CA. 346). Schoonhoven.
B. about 1500—Horarium (995). ,,

1. Death attacking a man—16mo cut (A).
2. The Mouth of Hell—16mo cut (A).
3. A Teacher instructing the Soul represented as a kneeling figure—8vo cut (AB).

5. A set of half-quarto cuts made to illustrate the life of Liedwy.

1498—Vita Lijdwine de Schiedam (CA. 383). Schiedam.

The cuts measure about 2·9 × 3·7 inches, unless otherwise stated.

1. The Holy Maid appearing, with a crucifix and a flower in her hands, to her biographer, who sits writing on the r., HMT. 119 (11) a 1.
2. The Maid receives a branch of a rose-bush from an angel—4to cut.
3. A 10-line initial D; St Veronica holding the sacred handkerchief is represented within it, HMT. 119 (11) a 2.
4. Liedwy prays before the image of the Blessed Virgin to be preserved from marriage.
5. She falls on the ice whilst skating.
6. The illness of the Maid and the visit of the Doctor. In the background he is seen performing an operation upon her.
7. A nobleman named Werboldus visits the Maid and leaves money for her use.
8. The Maid lying in bed. Her pains are represented by flames.

9. An angel appears to the Maid and gives her a rose-branch.
10. She makes clothes for the naked and gives food to the poor.
11. She has a vision of despair.
12. She desires the sacrament and is tempted by the priest.
13. She receives the *stigmata* in a vision, and is crowned by the Blessed Virgin.
14. More vexations arise through the priest; an enquiry is made by the prelates of the Church.
15. An angel shows the Maid the souls in the fires of Purgatory.
16. She is conveyed in a trance by an angel who shows her the Holy land.
17. On the night of the Nativity the Virgin appears to her, as once to St Bernard, and manifests herself as the Mother of Christ.
18. The Maid desires martyrdom and suffers it in a vision.
19. An angel appears to her and shows her her crown.
20. She receives Extreme Unction from the hands of Christ.
21. She dies peacefully.
22. Cripples are cured as they stand by her coffin.
23. Crowds attend her burial.
24, 25. Two small shields, the one bearing a heart pierced with arrows, the other a lion rampant.
26. Liedwy presents her biographer to the Virgin and Child with St Anne.

6. The device of the Schiedam printer, a kneeling angel holding the shields of Schiedam, HMT. 119 (11) a 1, and 120 (128) a 2.

1498—Vita Lijdwine de Schiedam (CA. 383). Schiedam.
after 1498—Chevalier délibéré (CA. 1084). ,,

7. Three skulls in a niche, HMT. 120 (126) a 2—a half-fol. cut.

after 1498—Chevalier délibéré (CA. 1084). Schiedam.

SECT. 33. *The Second Antwerp Woodcutter, with other cuts used at Antwerp by M. van der Goes* (1487—1489).

1. Two quarto devices first used with a date in this book.

21 June 1487—Sermones quatuor novissimorum (CA. 1537). Antwerp, Goes.

1. A wild man covered with long hair, brandishing a club over his head and holding the shield of Brabant; the printer's mark on the ground. HMT. 101 (48) b 1.

2. A three-masted ship with flags bearing the printer's mark, the arms of the Empire, Antwerp, and so forth, HMT. 101 (48) b 2.

No. 1 occurs in several books; no. 2 apparently only here.

2. Death and Tundalus—8vo cut.

about 1487—Tundalus (CA. 1691). Antwerp, Goes.

3. A set of 16mo religious cuts.

A. about 1487—Confessionale (CA. 490). Antwerp, Goes.
B. about 1487—Confessionale (CA. 491). ,, ,,
C. about 1487—Expositio missae (CA. 880). ,, ,,
D. about 1487—Expositio missae (CA. 881). ,, ,,
E. 3 July 1496—Epistelen ende Evangelien (CA. 706). ,, G. Back.

1. Christ among the Doctors (E).
2. The Baptism of Christ (E).
3. The Temptation (E).
4. The Supper at Simon's (E).
5. The Last Supper (E).
6. Christ on the Cross between two Thieves (BCE).
7. The Sponge given to Christ (BC).
8. The Virgin fainting at the foot of the Cross (BC).
9. The Entombment (BC).
10. The Resurrection (E).
11. Christ appearing to the Apostles (BCE).
12. The Mass of St Gregory (ABCDE).

4. On a black background are depicted the obverse and reverse of the following five coins:—the Royal of fine gold, Andries Gulden, Groten Dobbel, Dobbel Stuver, and Stuver—a narrow 4to cut.

after11Dec.1489—Ordinancie van der munten (CA. 1338). Antwerp, Goes.
after11Dec.1489—Ordinancie van der munten (CA. 1337). ,, G. Leeu.

SECT. 34. *The Third Antwerp Woodcutter, employed by G. Back* (1493—1500).

1. A set of half-octavo cuts copied from those in Leeu's edition of this book.

24 Nov. 1493—Crone O. L. Vrouwen (CA. 498). Antwerp, Back.

1. A Man kneeling before an altar on which lies a scroll.
2. A Man kneeling before an altar.
3. A Woman seen through an archway kneeling before an altar.

4. A Woman seen through a double archway kneeling before an altar.
5. A crown with six emblems.
6. A copy of the preceding.
7. A crown with six emblems, amongst them the Sun and Moon.
8. A copy of the preceding.

2. Some quarto cuts.

A.	16 Jan. 1495—Tria rosacea coronamenta (CA. 289).	Antwerp,	Back.
B.	1496-1500—Stella clericorum (CA. 1612).	,,	,,
C.	about 1498—Historia S. Annae (CA. 1507).	,,	,,

1. The Annunciation (A).
2. The Last Judgment (B).
3. The Mass of S. Gregory (C).

3. A set of cuts made for the book 'Der Kerstenen Salicheyt.'

A.	1495—Kerstenen Salicheyt (CA. 1499).	Antwerp,	Back.
B.	1495—Die Seven getijden (CA. 829).	,,	,,
C.	3 July 1496—Epistelen ende Evangelien.	,,	,,

The whole set is found in A.

1. The Trinity—32mo cut.

16*mo cuts.*

2. The Trinity (B).
3. The Blessed Virgin and St John by the Cross.
4. The dead body of Christ in the Father's lap.
5. The Parents of Emerenciana, the Grandmother of the Virgin.
6. Emerenciana's vision of a tree explained to her by an Angel.
7. Six young men are brought to her to choose a husband from; but she will have Scolamus, a '*goet devoet heylich simpel*' man.
8. The marriage of Scolamus and Emerenciana.
9. Their children Anne and Ismeria.
10. The marriage of Anne and Joachim.
11. Joachim and Anne giving alms.
12. Joachim's offering refused by the High Priest.
13. The Angel appears to Joachim as he is tending his flock.
14. The Angel appears to Anne.
15. The meeting of Joachim and Anne under the Golden Gate.
16. The Birth of the Blessed Virgin.
17. The Virgin dedicated in the Temple.
18. Anne bidden by an angel to marry Cleopas.
19. The marriage of Anne and Cleopas.
20. Cleopas and Anne with their child Mary Cleopas.

21. Salome and Anne with their child Mary Salome.
22. John the Baptist with his parents.
23. St Servatius, Bishop of Maestricht.
24. The Marriage of the Virgin Mary and Joseph.
25. The Annunciation.
26. The Visitation.
27. The Nativity.
28. The Circumcision.
29. The Adoration of the Magi (C).
30. The Virgin and St Anne with the Holy Trinity (B).
31. The Presentation.
32. The Flight into Egypt.
33. Alpheus and Mary Cleopas with their children, James the Less, Simon, Jude, and Joseph the Just.
34. Zebedee and Mary Salome with their children, James and John.
35. Christ among the Doctors.
36. The Marriage at Cana (C).
37. The Raising of Lazarus (C).
38. The Entry into Jerusalem.
39. Mary Magdalene pouring ointment over Christ's head.
40. Christ bidding farewell to his Mother.
41. The Last Supper.
42. Christ washing the Disciples' feet.
43. The Agony in the Garden (B).
44. The Betrayal.
45. Christ before Annas.
46. Christ before Caiaphas (B).
47. Christ scourged (B).
48. Christ crowned with Thorns.
49. Pilate washing his hands.
50. Christ bearing his Cross.
51. Christ stripped of his garments.
52. Christ nailed to the Cross (B).
53. The Sponge given to Christ.
54. The spear of Longinus (B).
55. The Descent from the Cross.
56. The *Pietà* (B).
57. The Descent to Hades.
58. The Entombment (B).
59. The Resurrection.
60. The Ascension (C).
61. Pentecost (C).
62. The Blessed Virgin and St John kneeling by the tomb and the three crosses.
63. The Assumption (B).
64. The Last Judgment (C).

4. A Rosary with the wounds of Christ—16mo cut, copied from Leeu's first Rosary (Sect. ix. 3. 59).

about 1495—Rosacea Mariae corona (CA. 288). Antwerp, Back.

5. The Symbols of the Four Evangelists in circular medallions, between which is the monogram IHS, HMT. 107 (68) c 1 —square 4to cut, copied in reverse from that used by J. de Breda (Sect. xxviii. 7).

3 July 1496—Epistelen ende evangelien (CA. 706). Antwerp, Back.
1496–1500—Catonis morosi opusculum (CA. 416). ,, ,,
1496–1500—Stella clericorum (CA. 1613). ,, ,,
1496–1500—De secretis mulierum (CA. 90, 92, 93, 94). ,, ,,
1496–1500—Casus papales (CA. 401, 402, 404). ,, ,,
1496–1500—Esopus Grecus (CA. 37). ,, ,,
1496–1500—De doctrina dicendi (CA. 68). ,, ,,

6. Quarto cuts of S. Dympna.

A. 1496—Legenda S. Dympnae (CA. 1098). Antwerp, Back.
B. Feb. 1498—De modo confitendi (CA. 1144). ,, ,,

1. S. Dympna standing on a beast (A).
2. S. Dympna's confession (AB).

7. King Charles meeting Elegast riding—4to cut.

about 1496—Historie van Karel ende Elegast (CA. 972). Antwerp, Back.

8. The Virgin and S. Anne with the Child and the Dove—8vo cut.

1 Sept. 1496—Historie van S. Annen (CA. 962). Antwerp, Liesveldt.
27 Feb. 1497—Historie van S. Annen (CA. 963). ,, ,,
about 1500—Oefeninge vander passien (CA. 594). ,, ,,
about 1500—Summa super quarto decretalium (CA. 153). ,, Back.

9. The Virgin and S. Anne with the Trinity—4to cut.

about 1498—Historia S. Annae (CA. 1507). Antwerp, Back.

10. The Author presenting his book to a young noble—4to cut.

1498—Liber aggregationis (CA. 83). Antwerp, Back.
about 1500—Questiones naturales (CA. 182). ,, ,,

11. Christ in a room addressing the Virgin—short 8vo cut.

about 1499—Seer minnelijke woerden (CA. 1783). Antwerp, Back.

12. S. Catherine—4to cut.

about 1500—S. Katherinen Legende (CA. 1101). Antwerp, Back.

13. S. Dominic receiving a rosary from the Virgin and Child—8vo cut.

about 1500—Summa super quarto decretalium (CA. 153). Antwerp, Back.

14. Two women conversing—4to cut.

about 1500—De doctrina dicendi (CA. 68). Antwerp, Back.

15. A set of cuts illustrative of fishing and fowling.

about 1500—Visschers ende Vogheleers (CA. 301). Antwerp, Back.
about 1500—Visschers ende Vogheleers (not in CA). ,, ,,

The cuts are oblong and fit the breadth of a quarto page.

1. A Fisherman by a stream with a fish in his hand.
2. A Bird-catcher setting his trap.
3. A Man with a bird in his hand.
4. A Bird-catcher setting a trap in a tree.
5. A Man fishing with a net.

SECT. 35. *Miscellaneous Cuts used at Antwerp by G. Back* (1493—1500).

1. A bird-cage with the mark of M. Goes, HMT. 107 (68) a —8vo device.

24 Nov. 1493—Crone van Marien (CA. 498). Antwerp, Back.

2. A bird-cage with the mark of M. Goes, HMT. 107 (68) b —4to device.

1493-1495—De miseria curatorum (CA. 679). Antwerp, Back.

3. Fifteen octavo borders imitated from French work.

1493-1495—Die gulden Letanien (CA. 1172). Antwerp, Back.

4. Octavo cuts imitated from French work.

3 July 1496—Epistelen ende Evangelien (CA. 706). Antwerp, Back.

1. The Annunciation.
2. The Nativity.

5. A bird-cage enclosing the printer's mark and initials; a shield hangs from it bearing the arms of Antwerp. HMT. 107 (68) c 2—4to device.

3 July 1496—Epistelen ende Evangelien (CA. 706). Antwerp, Back.

6. Portrait of Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, within an initial P.—HMT. 108 (69).

1496-97—Kuere van Zeelandt (CA. 1075). Antwerp, Back.

7. A small index hand.

1496-97—Kuere van Zeelandt (CA. 1075). Antwerp, Back.

8. Two boys with a bird-cage and shield; on the ground are the initials G. B., HMT. 108 (69) b 2—8vo device.

21 Sept. 1500—Sielentroest (CA. 1550). Antwerp, Back.

9. A bird-cage, HMT. 108 (69) c—32mo device; and

10. A shield with the Printer's mark and initials, HMT. 108 (69) c—32mo device.

about 1500—S. Katherinen Legende (CA. 1101). Antwerp, Back.

Nos. 9 and 10 are used together, side by side.

11. The Author at a desk writing—16mo cut.

about 1500—Summa super quarto decretalium (CA. 153). Antwerp, Back.

SECT. 36. *Cuts used by Liesveldt and Martens* (1494—1500).

1. The Mater Dolorosa with seven swords in her heart (on her r. side)—a 4to cut.

15 June 1494—De septem doloribus B. M. V. (CA. 760). Antwerp, Th. Martens.

2. Two 16mo religious cuts.

A. about 1494—Hondert Articulen (CA. 187). Antwerp, Liesveldt.
B. 6 Nov. 1499—Vier oefeninghen (CA. 344). ,, ,,

1. The Child adored by angels (A).
2. The Last Judgment (B).

3. Portrait of Maximilian wearing a hat and the order of the Golden Fleece; and

4. The Arms of Maximilian.

1499-1500—Muntplacaat of 24 Dec. 1499 (CA. 1272). Antwerp, Liesveldt.
4 Nov. 1500—Les Ressamblances des deniers (CA. 1476). ,, ,,
about 1502—Muntplacaat of 24 Dec. 1499. ,, Th. Martens.
not before 1502—Valuatien van den ghelde. ,, ,,

5. Cuts of coins, representing the obverse and reverse of nine Rhenish Electoral gulden of two '*vransche blanken*'.

1499-1500—Muntplacaat of 24 Dec. 1499 (CA. 1272). Antwerp, Liesveldt.

6. Cuts of coins.

4 Nov. 1500—Les Ressemblances des deniers (CA. 1476). Antwerp, Liesveldt.

The coins represented are :

Le Toyson dor.
Le florin Philippus.
Le toyson dargent.
Le double pattart.
Le pattart.
Floryns faites a bremes de par henry euesque de Breme.
Florins faitz a zwolle de par fredericus romanorum imperator.
Floryns faitz de par Jehan Roy de denemerke.
Floryns faitz a deuentre de par fredricus romanorum Imperato.
Florins faitz a Dortmondt de par fredericus romanorum imperato.
Florins faitz nouellement de par Fredricus leuesque dutrecht pour le present.
Florins faits a wesele au pais de cleues.
Florins depuis nagaires faites au pais d'liege.
Florins per ci deuant faitz de par feu david de bourgolgne euesque de Utrecht.
Florins faitz a eemden en frise oriental.
Florins de gheldre nouellement faitz.
Florins depuis nagaires et nouellement faitz de par Fredrick de baden euesque d'Utrecht.

7. A small device-cut of the arms of Antwerp.

4 Nov. 1500—Les Ressemblances des deniers (CA. 1476). Antwerp, Liesveldt.

SECT. 37. *Cuts used by R. van den Dorp and other Antwerp Printers* (1497—1500).

1. A set of cuts made to illustrate the Brabant Chronicle.

A.	28 Feb. 1497—Cronyke van Brabant (CA. 508).	Antwerp,	R. van den Dorp.
B.	about 1500—Hystorye van Troyen (CA. 876).	,,	,,
C.	1512—Cronike van Brabant.	,,	Eckert
D.	1517—Historie van Seghelijn.	,,	Claes de Grave.
E.	1518—Cronike van Brabant.	,,	J. van Doesborch.
F.	1527—Somme ruyrael.	,,	Claes de Grave.
G.	1530—Cronike van Brabant.	,,	J. van Doesborch.
H.	1531—Cronijcke van Vlaendren.	,,	W. Vorsterman.
K.	about 1531—Coronijcke van Maximiliaen.	,,	,,

The whole of the following cuts occur in A. Those so marked are found in B. In C, E, and G the majority reappear. In the other books a few of the cuts are scattered about.

A set of octavo cuts.

1. St Gertrude.
2. St Amelberghen.

3. St Goedelen.
4. St Pharelt, sister of St Goedelen.
5. St Oeden weduwe.
6. St Landraden, Abbess.
7. St Gommaer.

Octavo cuts of a larger size.

8. St Aernout.
9. St Alaert.
10. St Dympna.
11. St Rommoult.
12. St Wijden.
13. St Yden van Leeuwe.
14. St Mary.
15. A Duke of Brabant, holding the shield of the Duchy, a Lion rampant on a black ground. This cut appears in a 2nd state later on, the black ground of the shield being cut away, so as to stand for a Duke of Limburg.
16. Charles the Great.
17. A Duke and Duchess of Brabant supporting the shield of the Duchy.
18. Anthony, Duke of Burgundy, holding the quartered shield of Burgundy, Brabant, and Limburg.
19. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, holding his shield.

Single column cuts.

20. The Shield of Brabant.
21. The Shield of Brabant quartering that of Limburg.
22. The Shield of Maximilian.

Folio cuts.

23. An assemblage of the shields of the Empire, France, Brabant, Antwerp, Brussels, Bois-le-duc, and Louvain.
24. A genealogical tree with the shield of Brabant.
25. The hand of the giant of Antwerp cut off and cast into the Schelde (*Handwerpen*).
26. Six leaves, intended to be pasted into one long sheet, containing genealogies and illustrated with portrait figures.

Half-folio cuts. The blocks are so arranged that different bearings can be introduced into the flags.

27. An attack on a Castle. L. compartment—a man brandishing a huge sword, fighting several others. R. compartment—soldiers enter at a gate on the r. (B).
28. The building of a town.—A duke and three soldiers stand on the l., on the r. a man and two women with a baby sit on the ground. The town is being built behind (B).

29. Carloman surrounded by his court.—He stands in the mid. in a room, surrounded by courtiers. A soldier with the banner of Brabant stands on the r. (B).

30. A Battle.—Two bodies of soldiers fight on foot, those on the r. prepare to flee.

31. The Crown offered to Charles Martel.—A man standing before two others offers the Crown to Charles Martel who with five others stands on the l.

32. The Coronation of Pepin.—He is seated on a throne above which are two shields, a Bishop and another man holding a crown over his head. Courtiers stand r. and l.

33. Charles the Great on his throne.—He addresses a Bishop and two other men who kneel on the l.; on the r. stand six men and a soldier with the banner of Brabant.

34. The Coronation of Charles the Great.—The Pope and a Bishop hold a crown over his head. On the l. stand four men and on the r. three.

35. A Battle.—A body of Knights on the r. ride against another body and put them to rout; they are seen going away in the distance to the l.; men fight on foot behind (B).

36. Roland slaying his horse.—He stands in front on the r. by his horse, on the l. a Knight cuts his horse in half with a sword.

37. Charles and the Infidels.—On the l. a body of Knights ride away looking back at a body of men with long hair on the r.; behind are hills and two bodies of Knights fighting.

38. A Battle.—Two bodies of Knights ride against each other; a horse and warrior lie overthrown in front. Behind on the l. is a castle and on the r. a number of tents, HMT. 111 (72) a 4—a copy of no. 23 in the *Historie van Troyen* series (Sect. xi. 7) by the Haarlem cutter (B).

39. A Battle.—A body of Knights charge another body who ride away to the l. behind a rocky mound.

40. The Siege of Jerusalem.—The town is behind, one of its towers much cracked. In front are tents and soldiers.

41. The Storming of the Walls.—A number of soldiers enter at the gate on the l.; others are scaling ladders. In front are two tents. A copy of the cut in the *Historie van Troyen* series (Sect. xi. 7), no. 10.

42. A Battle.—Two bodies of Knights on foot fight in front, others fight behind; the routed party march away to the r.

43. A Capitulation.—Two bodies of Knights stand facing each other, those on the r. bare-headed.

44. The taking of Mechlin.—A body of troops stand in the mid.; on the l. is a flaming building, and on the r. a town in which one of the towers is falling. A cannon lies in the foreground (B).

45. A Battle.—Two large bodies of Knights ride against each other in a hill country; behind, r. and l., are archers and foot soldiers (B).

Quarto cuts.

46. Charles the Great seated on his throne, surrounded by his Knights, Roland, Oliver, and others.

47. Roland fighting at Roncevaux. One of the combatants is a Bishop.

48. Roland blowing the 'olifan,' HMT. 111 (72) a 3—the printer's device.

2. The Virgin and S. John by the Cross—8vo cut.

3. Christ before Pilate—8vo cut.

4. The Mass of S. Gregory—8vo cut.

about 1500—Ganck die Jesus ghinc (CA. 772). Antwerp, R. Dorp.

5. Christ with his Apostles and the Virgin—8vo cut.

6. Christ addressing four peasants.

about 1500—Seer minnelijcke woerden (CA. 1785). Antwerp, R. Dorp.

7. A small device—the Arms of Antwerp, HMT. 8 (132) c.

about 1500—Seer minnelijcke woerden (CA. 1785). Antwerp, R. Dorp.

8. Quarto cuts made to illustrate a Satire on the Church.

about 1500—Nijeuvont, Loosheit, ende Practike (CA. 1705). Antwerp, R. Dorp.

1. A man seated before the door of his house with a jug of beer; two women come out of their houses, and eight monkeys are to be seen looking out of windows or seated in the street.

2. A woman (New Invention) seated between her two lawyers (Practice and Cunning).

3. Eight people holding lighted candles kneel before an altar above which is a picture of Sloth; the Priest is a Fool with Cap and Bells.

5. Truth-teller, Practice, Fearless and Cunning stand by the altar of Sloth, two on each side; Public Opinion kneels before it with a candle.

9. A set of quarto cuts made to illustrate the Romance of Troy.

about 1500—Hystorye van Troyen (CA. 876). Antwerp, R. van den Dorp.

1. In two compartments,

Upper—Paris and the three Goddesses.
Lower—The Rape of Helen.

2. The altar of Pallas.—The figure of the Goddess is on the altar, on to which a man throws some coins; two men kneel in front, others stand talking.

3. Pandro and Troylus.—Troilus lies in bed on the l., Pandarus stands at the foot of it; men and women are seen through a door on the r.

4. Agamemnon on his throne.—Seven men are around him, of whom one kneels on the l., behind are two women.

10. A. van Berghen's device, representing his house with the shield of Antwerp and another with his own mark on the wall, and the '*grote gulden mortier*' on a signboard in front of the door. Over the door adjoining is another shield with a trade-mark on it, which probably stands for the printer who dates his books from '*juxta mortarium aureum*'. HMT. 110 (71) b 1—8vo cut.

1500—Leringe om salich te sterven (CA. 1223). Antwerp, A.v. Berghen.

11. Death attacking a man, HMT. 110 (71) b1—8vo cut.

1500—Leringe om salich te sterven (CA. 1223). Antwerp, A. v. Berghen.

12. The Virgin and S. John by the Cross—8vo cut.

about 1500—Boeck vanden Houte (CA. 1025). Antwerp, H. Lettersnider.
about 1500—Ganck die Jhesus ghinck (CA. 771). ,, ,,
11 Feb. 1511—Die negen couden. Delft, ,,

SECT. 38. *Diagrams.*

1. Trees of kindred and affinity—folio diagrams.

1480—Joh. Andreae Tractatus (CA. 154). Louvain, J. de Westfalia.
1480–1483—Joh. Andreae Tractatus (CA. 155). ,, ,,

The Diagrams are

1. Arbor consanguinitatis.
2. Arbor affinitatis.
3. Arbor cognationis spiritualis.

2. Astronomical and geographical diagrams about the size of a folio page.

1480–1483—P. de Aliaco, Imago mundi (C.A. 143). Louvain, J. de Westfalia.

The diagrams illustrate

1. The nine spheres of heaven.
2. The tropical and zodiacal lines, etc.
3. The zenith and horizon.
4. The circles of the elements.
5. The zones of the earth.
6. The climates of the earth.
7. The lesser divisions of the earth.
8. The directions of the twelve winds.

3. Trees of kindred and affinity.

19 June 1484—Van den Seven Sacramenten (CA. 1492). Gouda, G. Leeu.

1. Arbor consanguinitatis.
2. Arbor affinitatis.

4. Two logic diagrams.

14 June 1486—P. Hispani logicalia (C.A. 1394). Antwerp, G. Leeu.

5. Two diagrams of concentric circles, HMT. 58 (92) a.
A small diagram of Day and Night.

1488—P. de Rivo, Opus responsivum (CA. 1405). Louvain, Ravescot.

6. Two logic diagrams.

25 Jan. 1491—P. Hispani Summulæ (CA. 1398). Deventer, Paffroet.

7. A Hand covered with words as *memoria technica.*

30 April 1491—Exercitia utilissima (CA. 715). Zwolle, P. van Os.

8. A Hand similar to the preceding but larger.

1494—Rosetum exercitiorum (CA. 1224). Zwolle, P. van Os.

WOODCUTTERS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

PART III.

LIST OF THE BOOKS CONTAINING WOODCUTS.

ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE LIST.

Here, as in Parts I. and II., the chronological method has been adopted as far as possible, the books being ranged in strict order of date under the presses at which they were produced.

The presses themselves are ranged under the town or the printer, just as in each case the one or the other seemed most important. Thus Veldener's books are kept together, whether printed at Louvain, at Utrecht, or at Kuilenburg; and so with Gerard Leeu's, whether appearing at Gouda or at Antwerp. At Delft, on the other hand, where there was but one press, worked from time to time by different printers, the town is made the principal heading. Claes Leeu and Tyman van Os, who have no printing materials other than those of their namesakes, are placed next to Gerard Leeu and Peter van Os respectively, the latter being found under Zwolle. So also Godfr. Back, who married the widow, succeeded to the business, and used the devices, of Mathias van der Goes at Antwerp, is ranged next to that printer; and Colard Mansion at Bruges is followed immediately by the unnamed printer who worked for a short time Mansion's deserted press.

The sequence of the presses is determined not by the date at which printing was commenced, but by that at which woodcut illustrations are first found to be used. The Block-books of course head the list, for the same reason as in Parts I. and II. The later undetermined presses are ranged wherever the style of the woodcuts and other considerations entitle them to be. A glance at the Table of Contents will, it is hoped, enable the reader to find any particular press without trouble.

Each entry consists of the date, the short title, the size, and a reference to Dr Campbell's *Annales* (CA.), where a more or less full description of the book may be seen. At the end is a reference, under section and number, to every single entry in Part II. (the Catalogue of Woodcuts) in which the book is mentioned. Immediately preceding this reference is a bracket, within which is noted the library or libraries where the book may be seen, the library-mark being added where practicable. The libraries most frequently cited are denoted by initials, which will easily be understood. They are as follows:

BRH. **B**ibliothèque **R**oyale, at the **H**ague.
MWH. **M**eerman-**W**estreenen Museum, at the **H**ague.
BRB. **B**ibliothèque **R**oyale, at **B**russels.
BNP. **B**ibliothèque **N**ationale, at **P**aris.
BM. **B**ritish **M**useum.
ULC. **U**niversity **L**ibrary, **C**ambridge.
BLO. **B**odleian **L**ibrary, **O**xford.
TCD. **T**rinity **C**ollege, **D**ublin.

WOODCUTTERS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

PART III.

LIST OF THE BOOKS CONTAINING WOODCUTS.

I. THE *BIBLIA PAUPERUM,* Edition B (before 1467).

PLACE UNKNOWN.

Before 1467—Biblia Pauperum (Edition B, see p. 3). fol. [MWH (imperfect); BM; Vienna; Munich; Dresden; Hannover; Passau; Gottweig; Duke of Devonshire; Earl Spencer (copy A).] Sect. i. A.

II. THE *CANTICUM,* Edition A (before 1467).

PLACE UNKNOWN.

Before 1467—Canticum Canticorum (Edition B, see p. 10). fol. [BM; BNP; Haarlem; Munich; Earl Spencer.] Sect. ii. A.

III. THE *SPECULUM* (before 1474).

PLACE UNKNOWN.

Before 1474—Speculum humane salvationis. fol. CA. 1570. [BRH; BRB; BNP; Vienna; Munich.] Sect. iii. A.

Before 1474—Speghel onser behoudenisse. fol. CA. 1571. [BRH.] Sect. iii. B.

Before 1474—Speculum humane salvacionis. fol. CA. 1569. [BRH; Haarlem; Berlin; Hannover; Earl Spencer.] Sect. iii. C.

Before 1474—Speghel onser behoudenisse. fol. CA. 1572. [BRH; Haarlem; Lille; Earl Spencer.] Sect. iii. D.

IV. THE *BOEC VAN DEN HOUTE* (before 1483).

PLACE UNKNOWN.

Before 1483—Boec van den Houte. fol. [No copy of this book is known to exist.] Sect. iv. A.

V. JOH. DE WESTFALIA (1475—1496).

AT LOUVAIN.

21 Nov. 1475—Justinianus. Institutionum libri IV. fol. CA. 1052. [BRH.] Sect. v. 1.

29 Nov. 1475—Virgilius. Bucolica, Georgica et quidam tractatuli. fol. CA. 1731. [BNP; King's Coll. Camb. (with red printed initials); St John's Coll. Camb. (Philip the Fair's copy).] Sect. v. 1.

About 1475—Jo. Fabri Breviarium super Codice (Justiniani). fol. CA. 1053. [BRH.] Sect. v. 1.

1475-76—Joh. Laet. Prognosticatio anni 1476. fol. CA. 1081. [BLO (MS. Seld. Arch. B. 25).] Sect. v. 1.

8 Apr. 1476—Virgilius. Æneis. fol. CA. 1728. [BNP; Copenhagen; King's Coll. Camb.; St John's Coll. Camb.] Sect. v. 1.

Nov. 1477—Lud. Brunus. Carmen in adventu Maximiliani. 4to. CA. 385. [BNP (not forthcoming); ULC (lacking the cut).] Sect. v. 7.

1477—Kaetspel. fol. CA. 1060. [BNP; Earl Spencer.] Sect. v. 1.

1480—Joh. Andreae. Tractatus super arboribus consanguinitatis affinitatis necnon spiritualis cognationis. fol. CA. 154. [BRH.] Sect. xxxviii. 1.

1480-1483—Joh. Andreae. Tractatus super arboribus, etc. fol. CA. 155. [BRH.] Sect. xxxviii. 1.

1480-1483—P. de Aliaco. Imago mundi. fol. CA. 143. [BRB; BM; ULC; BLO; Deventer; Leyden.] Sect. xxxviii. 2.

31 Aug. 1484 (pridie Kalendas Sept.)—Paulus de Middelburgo. Pronosticum (concerning the coming conjunction of 25 Nov. 1484 and eclipse of 16 Mar. 1485). 4to. CA. 1362. [ULC.] Sect. v. 1.

Nov. 1490—Bouxken omme te comme tot der minne Jhesu ende Marien. 8vo. CA. 363. [Louvain (H. L. 1147).] Sect. xxii. 5; xxiii. 6; xxiv. A.

about 1490—Dirck van Munster. Spieghel der Kerstenen menschen. 8vo. CA. 596. [BRB.]. Sect. xxii. 6 B; xxiii. 7.

7 Nov. 1496—Legenda S. Annae. 8vo. CA. 1096. [BRH; ULC; BLO.] Sect. xxiii. 8; xxiv. B.

VI. JOH. VELDENER (1475—1484).

a. AT LOUVAIN; b. AT UTRECHT; c. AT KUILENBURG.

a. At Louvain (29 Dec. 1475).

29 Dec. 1475 (1476, 4° Kal. Jan. scd'm stilum Romanae Curiae)—W. Roleviuck. Fasciculus temporum. fol. CA. 1478. [BRH; BM (C. 15. b. 7); ULC; BLO.] Sect. v. 2, 3 A.

30 Apr. 1476—Car. Virulus (Maneken). Epistolares formulae. fol. CA. 1201. [Said to be in BNP, and at Louvain, but not forthcoming.] Sect. v. 2, 4, 5.

b. At Utrecht (4 Nov. 1478).

30 July 1479—Epistelen ende ewangelien. 4to. CA. 688. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. v. 2, 3 B.

14 Feb. 1480 (op S. Valentijns dach)—Boeck datmen hiet Fasciculus temporum. fol. CA. 1479. [BRH; BM; BNP; ULC; BLO.] Sect. v. 3 C; vi. 5, 6, 7 A.

12 Sept. 1480—J. de Voragine. Passionael. fol. CA. 1757. [BRH; ULC; BLO.] Sect. vi. 6, 8.

19 Apr. 1481 (op. S. Victoers auont)—Epistolen ende ewangelien. 4to. CA. 690. [Haarlem.] Sect. iii. E; v. 3 D; vi. 7 B, 9.

c. At Kuilenburg (6 March 1483).

6 Mar. 1483—Boec van den Houte. 4to. CA. 940. [BRH; BRB; Earl Spencer.] Sect iv. B.

27 Sept. 1483 (des saterdachs post Matthaei apostoli)—Spieghel onser behoudenisse. 4to. CA. 1573. [BRH; Haarlem (another issue with the same cuts); ULC.] Sect. iii. F; v. 2; vi. 7 C, 10, 11.

1484—Kruidboeck. 4to. CA. 918. [BRH (incomplete); BRB; BM (C. 14. a. 13); ULC; Cologne.] Sect. iii. G; v. 2; vi. 12 A.

1484-1485—Herbarius. 4to. CA. 916. [BRH; BRB; ULC.] Sect. vi. 12 B.

VII. CONR. DE WESTFALIA (1476).

At Louvain.

1 Dec. 1476—Car. Virulus (Maneken). Epistolares formulae. fol. CA. 1202. [BRH.] Sect. v. 5, 6.

VIII. DELFT PRESS (1477—1500).

a. Jac. Jacobszoen van der Meer and Maur. Yemantszoen van Middelborch; b. Jac. Jacobszoen alone; c. Chr. Snellaert; d. Hen. Eckert van Homberch.

a. JAC. JACOBSZOEN VAN DER MEER and MAUR. YEMANTSZOEN VAN MIDDELBORCH (10 Jan. 1477).

10 Jan. 1477—Bible in duytsche. fol. CA. 290 [BRH; MWH; ULC.] Sect. xx. 1.

b. JAC. JACOBSZOEN ALONE (1480).

12 Feb. 1480—Die duytsche souter. 8vo. CA. 549. [BRH; ULC; BLO.] Sect. xxi. 1.

1482—J. Gerson. Boec vanden gheboden Gods etc. ghenaemt Opus tripartitum. 4to. CA. 802. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xx. 2.

13 Jan. 1483—Hystorie van die seuen wise mannen van Romen. 4to. CA. 953. [Utrecht (Cat. Hist. Gentium, 4to. no. 377).] Sect. xxi. 2 A.

14 Feb. 1483—J. de Cessolis. Dat Scaecspul. 4to. CA. 421. [BLO; Copenhagen; Vergauwen Sale i. 349.] Sect. xxi. 3 A.

19 Aug. 1483—J. Bouteillier. Somme ruyrael. fol. CA. 361. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 4.

13 July 1484—J. de Voragine. Passionael, somerstuc. fol. CA. 1761. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 5 A.

9 Nov. 1484—J. de Voragine. Passionael, winterstuc. fol. CA. 1760. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 5 B.

About 1484—Historie van Seghelijn van Iherusalem. fol. CA. 980. [Vergauwen Collection, Ghent (not in the Sale Catalogue, 1884).] Sect. xxi. 3 B.

25 Mar. 1486—Die vier uterste (Cordiale). 4to. CA. 1319. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 6, 7 A.

29 Nov. 1486 (op S. Andries auont)—Euangelien ende Epistelen. 4to. CA. 696. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 7 B.

1 Mar. 1487—J. de Voragine. Passionael (both volumes). fol. CA. 1763. [BRH; ULC (winterstuc).] Sect. xiii. 2 A; xxi. 5 C, 7 C, 8 A, 9 A.

3 Mar. 1487—Tleuen van Liedwy die maghet van Sciedam. 4to. CA. 1123. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 10.

18 Mar. 1487—Ons heeren passie. 4to. CA. 1160. [ULC.] Sect. xxi. 7 D.

3 Sept. 1487—Epistolen ende euangelien. 4to. CA. 698. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 7 E.

About 1487—Troest der consciencie. 8vo. CA. 1684. [BRH.] Sect. xiii. 1.

c. CHR. SNELLAERT (1488).

22 May 1488—Ludolphus. Boec vanden leuen ons heeren. fol. CA. 1182. [BRH; ULC; BLO.] Sect. xxi. 7 F, 8 B, 9 B, 12 A.

2 Nov. 1488—Twispraec der creaturen. fol. CA. 568. [BRH, BM (637. k. 16).] Sect. viii. 2 H; ix. 1; xxi. 8 C, 12 B, 13.

1488—Sterfboeck. 4to. CA. 1619. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 7 K, 14 A.

1488—Euangelien ende epistolen. 4to. CA. 700. [Duc d'Arenberg.] Sect. xxi. 7 H.

1488—De vier Vytersten (Cordiale). 4to. CA. 1321. [No copy seen.] Sect. xxi. 7 G.

About 1488—Eyken von Repgow. Die spiegel van Sassen. 4to. CA. 1595. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 3 C.

About 1488—Die Historie van coninck Karel ende van Elegast. 4to. CA. 971. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 3 D.

About 1488—Die vier vterste (Cordiale). 4to. CA. 1322. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 7 L.

7 Oct. 1489—J. de Voragine. Passionael, zomerstuc. fol. CA. 1765. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xxi. 5 D, 7 M, 8 D, 9 C, 15 A.

27 Oct. 1489 (op. S. Symon ende Iudas auont)—J. de Voragine. Passionael, winterstuc. fol. CA. 1765. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 5 E, 7 M, 8 D, 9 C, 15 A.

1489—J. Deckers. Den duijtschen doctrinael. 8vo. CA. 604. [BNP.] Sect. xxi. 3 E.

About 1489—Die kersten Evve. 4to. CA. 1587. [BRH] Sect. xxi. 16.

29 Mar. 1490—Boexkijn van O. L. Vrouwen croon souter ende mantel. 4to. CA. 331. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 17 A.

29 May 1490 (op den pinxter auont)—Spieghel der volcomenheyt. 8vo. CA. 1578. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 17 C.

11 June 1490 (op S. Odulphus auont)—Tleuen van Liedwy die maghet van Scyedam. 4to. CA. 1124. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 10, 18.

About 1490—Der kersten Eevve. 4to. CA. 1588. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 16.

About 1490—Ghetidenboec. 8vo. CA. 835. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 17 D; xxi. 21.

About 1490—Dirck van Munster. Der kersten spiegel. 8vo. CA. 599. [BRH.] Sect. xiii. 1, 2 B; xxi. 17 B.

About 1490—Albertanus Brixiensis. Konste om te leeren spreken ende swyghen als tyt is. 4to. CA. 70. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 2 B.

About 1490—A. Bosman. Een mirakel dat geschiede int iaer ons heren Mcccc ende xxxiii inden lande van Cleue. 4to. CA. 356. [BRH; BRB.] Sect. xxi. 19.

About 1490—Historie van die seuen vroede van Roemen. 4to. CA. 955. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 2 C, 20.

About 1490—Albertanus Brixiensis. Conste om te leeren spreken ende swigen alst tijs is. 4to. CA. 71. [BM (C. 48. d.).] Sect. xxi. 2 D.

About 1490—Baghijnken van Parijs. 8vo. CA. 215. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 3 F.

10 Aug. 1491—Den gheestelijcken minnenbrief die Jhesus cristus seyndet. 8vo. CA. 1257. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 8 E, 22, 23.

1491—Dionysius Carthusianus: De particulari iudicio dei. 4to. CA. 580. [BRH; BM; ULC.] Sect. xxi. 7 N.

About 1492—Dirck van Munster. Der kerstenen spiegel. 8vo. CA. 599 *a*. [M. Olivier, Brussels, in 1880.] Sect. xxi. 17 E, 21, 25. At Wolfenbüttel is a copy of a page for page reprint of this edition (CA. 599 *b*.) which probably contains the same cuts.

16 July 1494—Die gulden letanye vander passien. 8vo. CA. 1171. [Haarlem.] Sect. xxi. 26, 27.

17 July 1494—Van den seuen droefheden O.L. Vrouwen. 8vo. CA. 655. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 25 B, 28.

About 1494—Die hondert articulen van der passien. 8vo. CA. 187. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 25 C.

28 Sept. 1495—Modus legendi in vtroque iure. 8vo. CA. 1267. [BRB; Trier (incomplete).] Sect. xxi. 3G.

27 Nov. 1495—Dat boeck van Tondalus visioen. 4to. CA. 1689. [BRB.] Sect. xxi. 7O, 14B.

1495—Liden ons heeren. 4to. CA. 1168. [Copenhagen (but not seen by me).] Sect. xxi. 7P.

About 1495—Proverbia seriosa. 4to. CA. 1454. [Haarlem.] Sect. xxi. 7Q.

About 1495—Die hondert articulen vander passien ons Heeren. 8vo. CA. 188. [BRH.] Sect. xiii. 1; xxi. 17F.

About 1495—S. Bernardus. Homen dat huysghesinne regeren sal. 4to. CA. 269. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 29.

About 1495—Missale Trajectense. fol. CA. 1262. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 30.

April 1496—Quattuor nouissima (Cordiale). 4to. CA. 1309. [No copy seen by me.] Sect. xiii. 2C; xxi. 7R.

11 Aug. 1496—Expositio hymnorum. 4to. CA. 722. [BRH; BRB; ULC; BLO.] Sect. xxi. 29.

About 1496—Textus sequentiarum. 4to. CA. 1533. [BRH; BRB; ULC.] Sect. xxi. 29.

April 1497—Seneca de quattuor virtutibus Cardinalibus. 4to. not in CA. (CA. 1515?). [BRB.] Sect. xxi. 2E.

1497—Der kersten Eewe. 4to. CA. 1589. [BRH (imperfect).] Sect. xxi. 16.

1497—Historie van Sinte Barbara. 4to. CA. 966. [BRH.] Sect. xxi. 9D.

d. HEN. ECKERT VAN HOMBERCH (1498).

9 Jan. 1498—Kaetspeel. 4to. CA. 1061. [Vergauwen i. 348, not seen by me.] It contains at least one cut.

15 Apr. 1498—G. de Deguileville. Boeck vanden Pelgrim. 4to. CA. 1377. [BRH; BLO (Douce 46).] Sect. xi. 12B.

27 Apr. 1498—Die historien ende fabulen van Esopus. fol. CA. 29. [BM (C. 20. e.); BNP (imperfect); Ghent.] Sect. xii. 10; xxi. 31, 32.

1498—Die duytsche psolter. 8vo. CA. 552. [BRH; ULC; BLO.] Sect. xxi. 25D.

1498—S. Hieronymus. Vader boeck. fol. CA. 939. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xxi. 9E, 12C.

1498—Leuen ons heren. 8vo. CA. 1120. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xiii. 1; xxi. 8F, 17G, 21, 25E, 33.

About 1498—Zenders de Werth. Lilium grammatice. 4to. CA. 1791. [BRB.] Sect. xxi. 7S.

About 1498—Der zielen troest. fol. CA. 1549. [Utrecht (Misc. Theol. Fol. 46).] Sect. xiii.

About 1498—Dionysius Carthusianus. De vier uterste. 4to. CA. 585. [Vergauwen Sale, i. 280.] Sect. xxi. 7T, 17H.

Aug. 1499—J. de Voragine. Passionael, winterstuck. fol. CA.1767. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xi. 2F, 3I; xvi. 2; xxi. 5F, 7V, 8G, 9F, 15B.

1500—J. de Voragine. Passionael, somerstuc. fol. CA. 1767. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xxi. 5G, 7V, 8G, 9F, 15B.

IX. COLARD MANSION (1477—1484).

AT BRUGES.

28 June 1477 (la veille des sains apostres Pierre et Paul)—Boece, Le livre de consolation de phylosophye. fol. CA. 323. [BRB; Bruges; BNP; ULC; Earl Spencer.] Mansion's device appears first in this book, and is used in most of his subsequent books including the Ovid of May 1484.

May 1484—Ovide. Methamorphose, moralisie par Thomas Waleys. fol. CA. 1348. [BRH; BRB; Bruges (No. 3877); BNP (Y. 1185 A); Lille (BG. 70).] Sect. vii. A.

X. UNKNOWN PRINTER, MANSION'S SUCCESSOR (1484—85).

AT BRUGES.

1484-85—Ovide. Methamorphose, moralisie par Thomas Waleys. fol. CA. 1348 note. [Bruges (No. 3878); BM (C. 22 f.); BNP (Y. 1185).] Sect. vii. B.

XI. GERARD LEEU (1478—1493).

a. AT GOUDA; b. AT ANTWERP.

a. AT GOUDA (10 May 1478).

10 May 1478—J. de Voragine. Dat Passionael, Winterstuc. fol. CA. 1755. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. viii. 1.

3 June 1480—Dyalogus creaturarum moralisatus. fol. CA. 560. [BRH; BM (Grenv. 8989 and C. 38. h. 3); ULC; BLO; Lübeck (no. 432).] Sect. viii. 2 A, 3.

4 Apr. 1481—Twispraec der Creaturen. fol. CA. 565. [BRH.] Sect. viii. 2 B.

30 Apr. 1481—Die gesten van Romen. fol. CA. 826. [BRH (incomplete); Louvain (Fol. 1116, incomplete); Leyden (no. 1253); BNP (Z. 1725 A).] Sect. viii. 6 A.

6 June 1481—Dyalogus creaturarum moralizatus. fol. CA. 561. [BRH; BM (637. k. 15); BLO; Deventer; Clare Coll. Cambridge.] Sect. viii. 2 C.

20 Apr. 1482—Dyalogue des creatures moraligie. fol. CA. 570. [BNP (no. 2328); Cöln (Town Archives).] Sect. viii. 2 D.

23 June 1482 (op S. Jans Baptisten auont)—Twispraec der creaturen. fol. CA. 566. [MWH.] Sect. viii. 2 E; ix. 1.

29 July 1482—Liden ons Heren. 4to. CA. 1156. [BRH; BRB.] Sect. ix. 2 A.

23 Aug. 1482 (op S. Barthclomeus auont)—Vier uterste (Cordiale). 4to. CA. 1316. [BRH; BRB.] Sect. viii. 4.

31 Aug. 1482—Dyalogus creaturarum moralizatus. fol. CA. 562. [BM (C. 19. d. 26); BLO; BNP (Y. 6592).] Sect. viii. 2 F.

About 1482—Historia septem sapientum Romae. 4to. CA. 947. [ULC; BLO.] Sect. viii. 5 B.

About 1482—Six (or more) sheets containing woodcuts and verses, illustrative of the Life of Christ. Type HMT. 71(54)3. Six woodcuts and six stanzas, of about 15 verses each, on every sheet. The verso of each sheet is blank. The sheets are all cut up into what look like pages, which are mounted upon separate cards. It is thus rendered difficult to fit them together, and to discover whether the set is complete. The space left between the tops of the lower row of cuts and the last lines of the upper row of verses is far too narrow to admit of the sheets being folded and bound. Probably they were meant to be cut up. CA. 746. [Erlangen (collection of prints).] Sect. ix. 2 B.

9 Mar. 1484—Mich. Franciscus de Insulis. Van Marien rosen cransken. 8vo. CA. 762. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 A.

19 June 1484—Van den seven Sacramenten. fol. CA. 1492. [BRH; BM (475. e. 19).] Sect. viii. 1; ix. 4 A; xxxviii. 3.

About 1484—Mich. Franciscus de Insulis. Quodlibet de veritate fraternitatis rosarii. 4to. CA. 759. [BRH; Ghent; ULC.] Sect. ix. 3 B. There were two issues of this edition, one having the cut Sect. ix. 3, no. 59, where the other has Sect. ix. 3, no. 60. The copy at the Hague belongs to the former, that at Ghent to the latter.

About 1484—Horarium Trajectense. 16mo. CA. 993. [ULC.] Sect. ix. 3 D.

b. AT ANTWERP (14 Sept. 1484).

18 Sept. 1484—Gemmula vocabulorum. 4to. CA. 787. [BRB; BM (12932. d.); ULC (wanting the cut).] Sect. ix. 2 F.

About 1484—Deuote ghetiden vanden leuen Jhesu Cristi. 8vo. CA. 1115. [Leyden, Société de litt. néerl. (no. 1246).] Sect. ix. 2 E, 5 A, 6 A.

28 Jan. 1485—Libellus de modo confitendi et penitendi. 4to. CA. 1129. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 2 G.

10 Feb. 1485—Jordanus de Quedlinburg. Meditationes de vita et passione Jhesu Christi. 16mo. CA. 1046. [BNP (D. 16070).] Sect. ix. 3 E; x. 1 B.

1 Mar. 1485—Moralissimus Catho cum commento. 4to. CA. 406. [BRH (wanting the cut); BRB; BM (Grenv. 9494); ULC (cut wanting).] Sect. ix. 4 B.

9 July 1485—Liden ons heeren. 4to. CA. 1159. [Vergauwen Sale, i. 337.] Sect. ix. 2 H, 3 F; x. 1 C.

12 Oct. 1485—Dyc hystorien ende fabulen van Esopus ende van meer ander. fol. CA. 28. [BRH.] Sect. xv. B.

20 Oct. 1485—Dirck van Munster. Der kerstenen Spieghel. 8vo. CA. 597. [Duc d'Arenberg (I have not seen the book. It contains 8 cuts).] Sect. ix. 3 H.

About 1485—Liden ons Heeren. 88 leaves, type HMT. 71(54)4*b*. The following signatures occur: c_1 (4to. cut of the Agony), c_3 (16mo. cut of the Betrayal), d, e_1 (? the leaf is wanting), e_3, f_1, f_3, g, g_3 (16mo. cut of the Resurrection), h, i, i_3, k, l, l_3. 4to. Not in CA. [BRB (wanting first two quires and various leaves, amongst others the last two).] Sect. ix. 2 K, 3 G; x. 1 D.

About 1485—Seven corte Ghetiden van die gheheel weke. 4to. Not in CA. [I am indebted to Dr Campbell for an account of the book.] Sect. ix. 2 L.

28 Jan. 1486—Libellus de modo confitendi et penitendi. 4to. CA. 1130. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 2 M; x. 2.

2 June 1486—Catho moralissimus cum commento. 4to. CA. 407. [BRH.] Sect. x. 3.

14 June 1486—Petrus Hispanus. Logicalia. 4to. CA. 1394. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. x. 3, 4; xxxviii. 4.

23 Aug. 1486—Gemmula vocabulorum cum addito. 4to. CA. 788. [BRH (wanting page with cut).] Sect. ix. 2 N.

26 Sept. 1486—Fabule et vita Esopi, cum fabulis Auiani, Alfonsij, Pogij florentini, et aliorum. fol. CA. 26. [BRH; BRB; BM (Grenv. 7808); ULC; Musée Plantin, Antwerp (no. 9).] Sect. xv. C.

23 Oct. 1486 (10 kal. Novembres)—Libellus de modo confitendi et penitendi. 4to. CA. 1131. [Coblenz (xxii. 3 or 2).] Sect. ix. 2 O.

11 Dec. 1486 (3° Idus Decembres)—Dijalogus creaturarum moralisatus. fol. CA. 563. [BRH; BM (C. 38. h. 4).] Sect. viii. 2 G; ix. 1.

22 Dec. 1486 (11 Kal. Jan.)—Vulgaria Therentij in Anglicanam linguam traducta. 4to. CA. 1644. [ULC.] Sect. x. 3.

1486—Die Electie, coronatie, ende salvinghe des roemschen conincs Maximilianus. 4to. CA. 659. [Duc d'Arenberg (I have not seen the book).] Sect. x. 5.

5 Jan. 1487—Jordanus de Quedlinburg. Meditacien vanden leuen ons Heeren. 8vo. CA. 1051. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 I, 6 B; x. 1 E.

31 Jan. 1487 (pridie Kal. Feb.)—Psalterium. 16mo. CA. 541. [BM; ULC.] Sect. ix. 3 K.

17 Mar. 1487 (16 Kal. Apr.)—Libellus de modo confitendi et penitendi. 4to. CA. 1133. [MWH.] Sect. ix. 2 P.

20 Apr. 1487 (12 Kal. Mai.)—Vulgaria Terentij in theutonicam linguam traducta. 4to. CA. 1637. [MWH.] Sect. x. 3.

15 May 1487—Histoire du chevalier Paris et de la belle Vienne. fol. CA. 941. [BNP (Y^2. 222).] Sect. xii. 1 A.

19 May 1487—Historie van den ridder Parijs ende van die schone Vienna. fol. CA. 942. [BNP (Y^2. 222 A).] Sect. xii. 1 B.

25 July 1487—Jordanus de Quedlinburg. Meditationes de vita et passione Jhesu Cristi. 16mo. CA. 1047. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. ix. 3 L; x. 1 F.

2 Aug. 1487—Mich. Franciscus de Insulis. Speculum sermonum B.M.V. super salutatione angelica. 4to. CA. 1576. [BRH; BRB; ULC.] Sect. ix. 2 Q.

30 Oct. 1487 (3° Kal. Nov.)—Catho moralissimus cum commento. 4to. CA. 408. [BRB; BM.] Sect. x. 3.

3 Nov. 1487—Ludolphus. Boeck vanden leven ons heeren Jesu Christi. fol. CA. 1181. [BRH; BM (1218. h. 3); ULC.] Sect. ix. 2 R; x. 6 A, 7 A, 8; xii. 3 A.

28 Nov. 1487—Hoofkijn van deuotien. 4to. CA. 985. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xii. 4.

1487—Albertanus Brixiensis. Libellus de modo loquendi et tacendi. 4to. CA. 65. [ULC; BM (697. d. 2).] Sect. x. 3.

1487—Rosarium B. Mariae Virginis. 16mo. CA. 1481. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 N; x. 1 G.

1487—Rosarium B. Mariae Virginis. 16mo. CA. 1482. [Hamburg (Real Cat. Vol VI. p. 210).] Sect. ix. 3 N; x. 1 G.

1487—Officium Romanum B. Mariae Virginis. 32mo. CA. 1328. [Hamburg (Real Cat. AC. VI. p. 217).] Sect. xii. 5.

About 1487—Bernardus. Tractatus de laudibus B.M.V. 4to. CA. 281. [BRH; BRB; ULC.] Sect. ix. 2 S.

1487-1488—Hen. van Alkmaar, Reynaert die Vos. 4to. Not in CA. [ULC, a fragment, the only trace of the book known.] Sect. xii. 2.

16 Feb. 1488—Van die gheestelike kintscheijt Jhesu ghemoraliseeret. Ende vander iacht der minnen. 8vo. CA. 1074. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. ix. 3 O; xii. 6 A.

20 Feb. 1488—Morticellarium aureum. 4to. CA. 1270. [BRH; ULC; BLO.] Sect. xii. 7.

11 Mar. 1488—Die Spiegel der volcomenheijt, etc. 8vo. CA. 1577. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 P.

16 Mar. 1488—Dionysius Carthusianus. Spieghel der bekeeringhen der sondaren. 4to. CA. 591. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 Q; xii. 8.

15 Apr. 1488—Die vier vterste (Cordiale). 4to. CA. 1320. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 2 T.

14 May 1488—Esopus cum commento (L. Vallae). 4to. CA. 38. [BRB; BM (C. 1. a. 4, wanting first leaf); BLO; BNP.] Sect. xii. 10.

19 May 1488—Gemmula vocabulorum cum addito. 4to. CA. 790. [ULC.] Sect. ix. 2 V.

20 Nov. 1488—Jordanus de Quedlinburg. Meditationes de vita et passione Jhesu Christi. 16mo. CA. 1048. [BRH; Hamburg.] Sect. ix. 3 R; x. 1 H.

1488—Historie van deme riddere Paris vnde vander schone Vienna. fol. CA. 943. [I have not seen a copy of this book.] Sect. xii. 1 C.

About 1488—Salomonis et Marcolphi dijalogus. 4to. CA. 455. [BRB; ULC.] Sect. xii. 10.

3 Mar. 1489—Opusculum vite et passionis Christi ex revelationibus B. Birgitte. 16mo. CA. 380. [BRH; BM; ULC.] Sect. x. 9.

26 Nov. 1489—Speculum rosariorum Jhesu et Marie. 8vo. CA. 1574. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 S.

1 Sept. 1490—Liden ons Heeren. 4to. CA. 1164. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 2 X, 3 T; x. 1 I.

6 Nov. 1490—Historia septem sapientum Romae. 4to. CA. 950. [BRH; BM (1074. l. 20); BLO; BNP (Y². 58); Deventer.] Sect. x. 10; xii. 9 C.

9 Feb. 1491—Historie van Meluzine. fol. CA. 975. [BRB.] Sect. x. 11 A; xii. 1 D.

11 Apr. 1491—Dyalogus creaturarum moralisatus. 4to. CA. 564. [BRH; BM (1073. l. 2); ULC.] Sect. viii. 2 I; ix. 1.

21 June 1491—Reuelacien der heyligher vrouwen S. Birgitten. 8vo. CA. 382. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 V; x. 9; xii. 12 B.

28 June 1491—Bonaventura. Legende van S. Franciscus.—Legende van S. Claren. 8vo. CA. 334. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xii. 13 A.

11 July 1491—Bonaventura. Boeck vanden vier oefeninghen. 8vo. CA. 339 a. [Prof. Doedes at Utrecht.] Sect. ix. 3 W; xi. 4 C.

About 1491—Duytsche ghetiden. 8vo. CA. 839 note. [ULC, last 5 leaves wanting.] Sect. xii. 14; xvi. 1 A.

8 Oct. 1491—S. Bernardus Souter tot onser lieuer vrouwen. 8vo. CA. 278. [BRH.] Sect. xii. 15; xvi. 1 B.

10 Nov. 1491—Jordanus de Quedlinburg. Meditationes de vita et passione Jhesu Christi. 16mo. CA. 1050. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 X; x. 1 K.

2 Dec. 1491—Glose opten psalm '*Miserere mei*', etc., 8vo. CA. 847. [BRH.] Sect. xii. 16.

About 1491—Die historie, die ghetijden ende die exempelen van S. Annen. 8vo. CA. 961. [BRB; ULC (Ghetijden only).] Sect. xii. 12 A.

About 1491—Kamitus. Regimen contra pestem. 4to. CA. 1065. [BRB (Inc. 1589).] Sect. xii. 13 B.

About 1491—Den Minnenbrief die Jhesus Cristus zeijndt tot der minnender zielen. 8vo. CA. 1258. [BRH; BRB (imperfect).] Sect. xii. 6 B; xvi. 1 C.

7 Jan. 1492—Vanden Dochteren van Sijon een deuoet exercitie. 4to. CA. 603. [BRH.] Sect. xii. 17 A.

18 Mar. 1492—Horarium Trajectense. 8vo. CA. 994. [I have not seen a copy of this book.] Sect. xvi. 1 D.

2 June 1492—R. le Fèvre. The history of Jason (translated by W. Caxton). fol. CA. 1093. [ULC; TCD (FF. hh. 53, No. 3); Duke of Devonshire.] Sect. xi. 3 G, 6 F.

23 June 1492—The storye of the Knyght Paris and the fayr Vyenne (translated by W. Caxton). fol. Not in CA. [TCD (FF. hh. 53, No. 2).] Sect. xii. 1 F.

14 July 1492—Ghedenckenisse van den seuen weeden onser lieuer Vrouwen. 8vo. CA. 1778. [BRH.] Sect. xii. 18 A.

6 Oct. 1492—Corona mistica B. Marie Virginis. 8vo. CA. 497. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xii. 19; xvi. 1 E.

3 Dec. 1492—Dionysius Carthusianus. Exercitium de via purgativa. 16mo. CA. 581. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. ix. 3 Y.

[About 1492—R. le Fèvre. Historie van Jason. fol. Not in CA. [TCD.] Sect. xi. 6 E. No such book exists. The error arose from a mistake in my notes of the Dublin books.]

About 1492—Historie vanden ridder Paris ende van die schone Vienna. fol. Not in CA. [TCD (FF. hh. 53, No. 4, last leaf wanting).] Sect. xii. 1 E.

About 1492—Psalterium Jheronimi. 8vo. CA. 935. [BRH.] Sect. xii. 13 C.

About 1492—Horae B. M. V. ad usum Sarum. 16mo. Not in CA. [Brasenose Coll. Oxford (fragment only).] Sect ix. 3 Z; xvi. 1 F.

About 1492—Dyalogus or communyng betwixt the wyse king Salomon and Marcolphus. 4to. CA. 460. [BLO (Tanner 178, No. 5).] Sect. x. 12 A.

About 1492—Ordinancie vander munten of 11 Dec. 1489. 4to. CA. 1337. [ULC.] Sect. xxxiii. 4.

1493—Cronycles of the Londe of Englond. fol. CA. 511. [BM (Grenv. 5993); TCD (FF. hh. 53, No. 1).] Sect xi. 3 H; xii. 20.

XII. CLAES LEEU (1487—1488).

At Antwerp, with Ger. Leeu.

17 Dec. 1487—Bonaventura. Boec vanden vier oefeninghen. 8vo. CA. 339. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 M; xi. 4 B.

11 Apr. 1488—Hystorie van die seven wise mannen van Romen. 4to. CA. 954. [Copenhagen, not seen by me.] Sect. xii. 9 A.

20 Nov. 1488—Ludolphus. Boeck vanden leuen ons heeren Jhesu Cristi anderweruen gheprint. fol. CA. 1183. [BRH; BM (3845. df.); ULC.] Sect. ix. 2 W; x. 6 B, 7 B; xii. 3 B, 11 A.

XIII. (GER. LEEMPT, as) G L (1479—1480).

At Utrecht.

7 May 1479—Der sielentroest. fol. CA. 1544. [BRH; in ULC the place for the cut is left blank.] Sect. vi. 1.

10 Nov. 1479—Der sielentroest. fol. CA. 1545. [Duc d'Arenberg.] Sect. vi. 2.

30 Mar. 1480—Otto van Passau. Boeck des gulden throens. fol. CA. 1342. [BRH; BM (3835. b.); ULC.] Sect. vi. 3, 4.

XIV. AREND DE KEYSERE (1480—1490).

a. At Audenarde; b. at Ghent.

a. At Audenarde (1480).

1480—Hermannus de Petra, Sermones. fol. CA. 919. [BRH; ULC; BLO.] See Appendix.

1480-81—Joh. Laet, Pronosticaten. 4to. CA. 1082. [Sluis Archives (imperfect).] See Appendix.

1480-81—Dystorie van Saladine. 4to. CA. 979. [Haarlem.] See Appendix.

1481-82—Dionysius de Leewis. Quatre dernières choses. 4to. CA. 586. [BRB; Ghent.] Sect. viii. 4. See Appendix.

b. AT GHENT (8 April 1483).

8 Apr. 1483—Traittie de paix et de mariage (made at Arras 1482). fol. CA. 1681. [Ghent.] See Appendix.

22 Aug. 1483—Guillermus Parisiensis. Rethorica divina. 4to. CA. 905. [BRH; BRB (2 copies, one with device, one without); Ghent; ULC.] See Appendix.

1483-90—Horae B. Mariae V. 8vo. Not in CA. [ULC (fragments).] See Appendix.

1488-90—Tractatus de periculis circa sacramentum eucharistie contingentibus. 4to. CA. 1678. [Duc d'Arenberg.] See Appendix.

XV. GOTFR. DE OS, or GOV. VAN GHEMEN (1481—1490).

a. AT GOUDA; b. AT LEYDEN.

a. AT GOUDA (1481—82).

1481-82—Historie van die seuen wise mannen van Romen. 4to. CA. 952. [Haarlem.] Sect. viii. 5 A.

23 June 1484 (op St. Jans Baptisten auont)—Epistelen ende euangelien. 4to. CA. 693. [ULC; Duc d'Arenberg.] Sect. ix. 2 D.

1485-86—Historie hertoghe Godeuaerts van Boloen. fol. CA. 968. [BM (Grenv. 6234); Duc d'Arenberg.] Sect. xxv. 1 A, 2.

13 Nov. 1486—Opusculum quintupertitum grammaticale. 4to. CA. 1331. [ULC; Copenhagen; Gymnase Catholique, Cologne (imperfect).] Sect. xxv. 3.

1486-1489—Albertanus Brixiensis. Die konste om te leren spreken ende zwighen. 4to. CA. 69 note. [BRB.] Sect. xxv. 3.

1486-1489—Historie vanden eedelen Lantsloet ende die scone Sandrijn. 4to. CA. 974. [BRH (one leaf only); Lübeck (1388 a); Hamburg.] Sect. xxv. 4.

1486-1489—Huon de Bordeaux. 4to. CA. 1011. [BRH (a fragment).] Sect. xxv. 5.

1486-1489—Olivier de Lamarche. Le Chevalier délibéré. fol. CA. 1083. [No copy seen by me; the only known one belonged to the Marquis de Ganay in 1879.] Sect. xxv. 6 A, 7.

b. AT LEYDEN (1489—90).

1489-90—Den gheesteliken minnebrief die ihesus cristus seyndt. 8vo. CA. 1256. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xxv. 9.

XVI. JAC. BELLAERT (1483—1486).

AT HAARLEM.

10 Dec. 1483—Lijden ons Heeren. 4to. CA. 1157. [Enschedè sale, 374, bought by Mr Quaritch.] Sect. ix. 2 C; xi. 1.

15 Feb. 1484—J. de Theramo. Der sonderen troest. fol. CA. 1656. [BRH; BM (175. e 19); BLO.] Sect. xi. 2 A, 3 A.

After 15 Feb. 1484—Oefeninghe op dat Pater noster, &c. 8vo. CA. 1325. [ULC.] Sect. xi. 2 B.

25 Oct. 1484 (op sinte Crijspijn ende Crispiaens dach)—Otto van Passau. Boeck des gulden throens. fol. CA. 1343. [BRH; BM; ULC; BLO.] Sect. xi. 4 A.

12 Nov. 1484—Ghedenc dijn vterste (Cordiale). 4to. CA. 1318. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xi. 2 C, 5.

Before 5 May } 1485—R. le Fèvre. Historie vanden vromen ridder Jason. fol. CA. 1092. [BNP.] Sect. xi. 3 B, 6 A.

5 May 1485—R. le Fèvre. Vergaderinge der historien van Troyen. fol. CA. 1095. [BNP.] Sect. xi. 3 C, 6 B, 7 A.

After 5 May } 1485—R. le Fèvre. Fais et prouesses de Jason. fol. CA. 1091. [BNP (Y². 212).] Sect. xi. 3 D, 6 C.

24 Dec. 1485 (opten kersauent)—Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla. Boeck vanden proprieteyten der dinghen. fol. CA. 258. [BRH; BRB; BM (1251. k.); ULC; BLO.] Sect. xi. 3 E, 8.

8 Apr. 1486—Epistelen ende euangelien. 4to. CA. 695. [BRH.] Sect. xi. 9 A.

24 July 1486—Pierre Michault. Doctrinael des tyts. 4to. CA. 1254. [BRH.] Sect. xi. 6 D, 11.

20 Aug. 1486—G. de Deguileville. Boeck vanden Pelgherym. fol. CA. 1376. [BRH (imperfect); BRB; Berlin Mus. Print Room.] Sect. xi. 3 F, 12 A.

XVII. BRUSSELS PRESS (1484).

FRATRES COMMUNIS VITAE.

1484—Legenda sanctorum Henrici et Kunigundis. 4to. CA. 1100. [BM (Grenv. 4660); ULC.] Sect. xxii. 1.

XVIII. ZWOLLE PRESS (1484—1500).

a. PET. VAN OS; b. TYMAN VAN OS.

a. PET. VAN OS (26 May 1484.)

26 May 1484 (op hemelvaert avont inden Mey)—Die gesten der Romeynen. fol. CA. 828. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. viii. 6 B; xvii. 1.

24 Dec. 1484 (op des heylighen Kerstes auont)—S. Bernardus Sermonen, winterstuck. fol. CA. 275. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xvii. 2.

30 Apr. 1485 (op den Mey auont)—S. Bernardus Sermonen, somerstuck. fol. CA. 275. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xvii. 2.

21 July 1485 (op Marien Magdalenen auont)—Der sielen troest. fol. CA. 1547. [BRH.] Sect. viii. 6 C; xvii. 3.

5 Jan. 1487 (opter heiligher drie coninghen auont)—Epistelen ende euangelijen. 4to. CA. 697. [BRH.] Sect. i. B; xvii. 4 A, 5 A; xviii. 1 A.

23 Aug. 1487 (in profesto Bartholomaei apostoli)—Breviarium Trajectense fol. CA. 374. [BRH.] Sect. i. C.

18 Nov. 1487 (op sinte elizabetten auont)—Liden ons Heren. 4to. CA. 1161. [Darmstadt (I. 715. 70).] Sect. i. D.

6 Nov. 1488 (misprinted 1480)—Psalterium cum duplicibus titulis. 4to. CA. 539. [BRH.] Sect. xvii. 5 C.

10 Nov. 1488 (op S. Martijns avont)—Euangelien ende epistelen. 4to. CA. 699. [BRH.] Sect. i. E; xvii. 4 B.

21 Nov. 1488 (des anderen daghes nae S. Ponciaens dach)—Thomas Cantipratensis. Der bien boeck. fol. CA. 1658. [BRH; BM (475. e. 19); ULC.] Sect. i. F; xvii. 6.

1488—Dat sterfboeck. fol. CA. 1620. [BRH.] Sect. i. H; xvii. 7.

About 1488—Epistolare et euangeliare. 4to. CA. 682. [BRH.] Sect. xvii. 4 C.

About 1488—Paulus Pellantinus. Carmen de nativitate J. C. 4to. CA. 1378. [BRH.] Sect. i. K.

21 Feb. 1489 (op S. Peters auont ad Cathedram)—Liden ons Heren. 4to. CA. 1163. [BRH; Darmstadt (I. 715. 72).] Sect. i. L.

1 Apr. 1490—Hieronymus. Vaderboeck. fol. CA. 938. [BRH; BRB; ULC; Darmstadt.] Sect. i. M; xviii. 3.

1 Sept. 1490—J. de Voragine. Passionael, somerstuck. fol. CA. 1766. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. x. 6 C; xii. 11 B; xvii. 9.

18 Nov. 1490 (des donre daghes voer S. Katherine)—J. de Voragine. Passionael, winterstuck. fol. CA. 1766. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. ix. 2 a; xii. 11 B; xvii. 9; xviii. 3.

13 Dec. 1490 (op Sinte Lucien dach)—Liden ons Heren. 4to. CA. 1165. [BRH.] Sect. i. N.

14 Feb. 1491 (op S. Valentijns dach)—Epistelen ende euangelien. 4to. CA. 702. [BRH (unique but incomplete copy).] Sect. i. O.

30 Apr. 1491 (in profesto Philippi et Jacobi)—Exercitia vtilissima. 8vo. CA. 715. [ULC; Trier.] Sect. xxxviii. 7.

4 June 1491 (op S. Bonifacius avont)—Dat Sterfboeck. fol. CA. 1621. [BRH; Darmstadt.] Sect. i. P; xvii. 7.

1 July 1491 (op O.L.V. auont visitatio)—Die vier vutersten (Cordiale). 4to. CA. 1323. [BRH; Haarlem (both imperfect).] Sect. i. Q; xviii. 2 C.

23 Aug. 1491 (op S. Bartholomeus auont)—Der sielentroest. fol. CA. 1548. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xvii. 3, 10.

1491—Lijden ons Heren. 4to. CA. 1166. [BRH.] Sect. i. R.

7 Sept. 1492 (in profesto nativitatis BMV)—Gemmula vocabulorum cum addito. 4to. CA. 794. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xviii. 4 A; xix. 1 A.

27 Mar. 1493 (opten anderden dach nae onser Vrouwen dach Annunciatio) Epistelen ende Euangelien. 4to. CA. 704. [BRH.] Sect. xvii. 10; xviii. 6 A.

About 1493—Liber beati Bernardi Abbatis de Consideratione ad Eugenium Papam. 4to. CA. 265. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xviii. 5.

1494—J. Mauberne. Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium. fol. CA. 1224. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. ii. B; xxxviii. 8.

27 May 1495 (op ons Heren hemeluaerts auont)—Sermones Bernardi in

Duytssche, winter-ende somerstuck. fol. CA. 276. [BRH; BM (1230. d. 19); ULC; BLO.] Sect. ix. 2 d; xii. 3 C, 11 C, 12 C; xvii. 2; xviii. 3, 6 B; xix. 2 A.

20 Nov. 1495—Ludolphus. Boeck van den leuen ons heren Jhesu Cristi, anderwerven gheprint. fol. CA. 1184. [BRH; BM (3853. de.); ULC.] Sect. ix. 2 e; x. 6 D, 7 C; xii. 3 D, 11 D; xvii. 10; xviii. 6 C; xix. 2 B.

About 1495—Eucherius. Libellus de contemptu mundi. 4to. CA. 709. [BRH; BRB; ULC.] Sect. xviii. 7; xix. 2 C.

About 1497—Alexander Gallus. Doctrinalis Prima et Secunda Pars. 4to. Not in CA. [BRB.] Sect. xviii. 4 B, 7; xix. 1 B.

About 1497—Liber Faceti morosi docens mores. 4to. CA. 735. [BRH.] Sect. xix. 4.

About 1497—Bellum Catilinarium Salustij. 4to. CA. 1502. [BRH.] Sect. xix. 5.

15 Mar. 1499—Ludolphus. Boec vanden leuen ons heren Jhesu Cristi, derdeweruen gheprint. fol. CA. 1185. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. x. 6 F, 7 D; xi. 9 B; xii. 3 E, 11 E; xvii. 10; xviii. 3, 6 D; xix. 1 C, 2 D, 6.

7 Sept. 1499 (op onser Vrouwen auent Natiuitas)—Die historie van Santa Anna. 8vo. CA. 964. [Ghent.] Sect. xii. 12 D; xviii. 6 E.

1500—Bartholomei Coloniensis Canones. 4to. CA. 250 *a*. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xix. 3, 5, 7.

1500—Vulgaria computi. 4to. Not in CA. [ULC.] Sect. i. S.

About 1500—Rudolphus Agricola. Carmina in divae Annae laudem. 4to. CA. 53. [ULC.] Sect. xii. 12 E.

About 1500—Stella clericorum. 4to. CA. 1616. [BRB; Cologne Archives (incomplete).] Sect. xix. 4.

About 1500—Sallustius. De Bello Jugurthe. 4to. CA. 1503. [Hamburg (Real Cat. AC. IV. p. 68).] Sect. xix. 5.

b. TYMAN VAN OS, WITH PETER VAN OS (about 1497).

About 1497—Basilius Magnus. Opusculum quomodo legendi sunt libri seculares. 4to. CA. 259. [BRH.] Sect. xviii. 7; xix. 3.

About 1500—Aristoteles. De moribus. 4to. CA. 172. [BRH.] Sect. xviii. 7.

XIX. HEYNR. HEYNRICI (1484).

AT LEYDEN.

4 June 1484 (In profesto S. Bonifacij et sociorum eius)—Thomas Aquinas. Tractatus de humanitate Christi. 4to. CA. 1670. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xiv. 1.

XX. JAC. DE BREDA (1486—1500).

AT DEVENTER.

1486-1487—Gasparinus Pergamensis. Epistolae. 4to. CA. 775. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xxviii. 3.

1486-1487—Columella. De cultura hortorum Carmen. 4to. CA. 470. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xxviii. 3.

1486-1487—Steph. Fliscus. Sententiarum variationes. 4to. CA. 749. [Wolfenbüttel (21. 5).] Sect. xxviii. 2.

1486-1487—Guilielmus de Gouda. Tractatus de expositione missae. 4to. CA. 889. [Wolfenbüttel; Hamburg.] Sect. xxviii. 3.

1486-1487—Megarensis. Modus confitendi. 4to. CA. 1233. [BRH.] Sect. xxviii. 1, 3.

1487—Gasparinus Pergamensis. Epistolae. 4to. CA. 776. [BRH (title lost); Wolfenbüttel.] Sect. xxviii. 2, 4.

1489-1492—Æsopus per Laurentium Vallensem traductus. 4to. CA. 32. [Utrecht; ULC.] Sect. xxviii. 5.

1489-1492—Alexander Gallus. Glosa super prima parte doctrinalis. 4to. CA. 119. [Wolfenbüttel (19. 7 Gram.).] Sect. xxviii. 5.

1489-1492—Guilielmus de Gouda. Tractatus de expositione missae. 4to. CA. 890 a. [BRH.] Sect. xxviii. 5.

1489-1492—Quatuor nouissima (Cordiale). 4to. CA. 1306. [BRH.] Sect. xxviii. 5.

1489-1492—Quattuor nouissima (Cordiale). 4to. CA. 1312. [BRB.] Sect. xxviii. 5.

1489-1492—Plato. Hipparchus et Theages, cum argumentis Marsilii. 4to. CA. 1421. [Ghent; ULC.] Sect. xxviii. 5.

1489-1492—J. Sinthis. Composita verborum. 4to. CA. 481 *a*. [Trin. Coll. Camb.] Sect. xxviii. 5.

1489-1492—M. Bossus. Sermo in passionem. 4to. CA. 358. [BRH.] Sect. xxviii. 6, 15.

5 April 1490 (altera die palmarum)—Libellus de modo confitendi et penitendi. 4to. CA. 1136. [BM.] Sect. xxviii. 5.

9 Aug. 1490—Guilielmus de Gouda. Tractatus de expositione missae. 4to. CA. 885. [BRH; BRB; BNP; Wolfenbüttel.] Sect. xxviii. 5.

About 1492—Seneca de quatuor virtutibus Cardinalibus. 4to. Not in CA. [Louvain (H.L. 1124).] Sect. xxviii. 6.

1 Mar. 1493—Epistolen ende euangelien. 4to. CA. 703. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. ix. 2 b; xii. 21 A; xxviii. 7.

30 May 1493—Gemmula vocabulorum. 4to. CA. 795. [BRH; BRB; Deventer; ULC.] Sect. ix. 2 c.

4 Mar. 1496—Epistolen ende ewangelien. 4to. CA. 705. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 2 f; xii. 21 B.

6 Sept. 1496—Hystorie geheyten Sydrack. fol. CA. 982. [BRB; BNP (Y². 720 A).] Sect. x. 6 E; xii. 21 C.

About 1499—Quattuor nouissima (Cordiale). 4to. Not in CA. [BRB.] Sect. ix. 2 k; xxviii. 8.

About 1499—Virgil. Aeneidos liber secundus. 4to. CA. 1730. [Utrecht.] Sect. xxviii. 9.

About 1500—Jac. Faber. Carmen panegyricon. 4to. CA. 725. [BRB.] Sect. xxviii. 6.

About 1500—Seneca. De quattuor virtutibus. 4to. CA. 1517. [BM.] Sect. xxviii. 6.

About 1500—Antonius Mancinellus. Thesaurus. 4to. Not in CA. [BRB.] Sect. xxviii. 10.

XXI. JAN ANDRIESZOEN (1486).

AT HAARLEM.

31 May 1486—Henricus de Hassia. Liber de consolatione theologiae. 4to. CA. 911. [BRH.] Sect. xi. 10.

XXII. PRINTER OF THE *MATHEOLUS PERUSINUS* (about 1486).

PLACE UNKNOWN.

About 1486—Herbarius. 4to. CA. 917. [BRB; ULC.] Sect. vi. 12 C.

XXIII. PRINTER OF THE *KOMST VAN KEYSER FREDERYCK TE TRIER* (after 1486).

PLACE UNKNOWN.

After 1486—Komst van Keyser Frederyck te Trier. 4to. CA. 764. [BRH.] Sect. xxvi. 1.

After 1486—Die jeeste van Julius cesar. 4to. CA. 393. [BRH.] Sect. xxvi. 2.

XXIV. EGID. VAN DER HEERSTRATEN (1487).

AT LOUVAIN.

1486-87—J. Houden. Carmen de passione. 8vo. CA. 1001. [ULC.] Sect. xxii. 2.

1487—Boccaccio. Liber de claris mulieribus. fol. CA. 294. [BRH; BLO; King's Coll. Camb.] Sect. xxii. 3.

XXV. MATH. VAN DER GOES (1487—1491).

AT ANTWERP.

21 June 1487—Sermones quatuor nouissimorum. 4to. CA. 1537. [BRH; Utrecht.] Sect. xxxiii. 1.

About 1487—Libellus de raptu anime Tundali. 4to. CA. 1691. [BRH.] Sect. xxxiii. 2.

About 1487—Confessionale. 4to. CA. 490. [Utrecht; ULC.] Sect. xxxiii. 3A.

About 1487—Confessionale. 4to. CA. 491. [BRH.] Sect. xxxiii. 3B.

About 1487—Guilielmus de Gouda. Tractatus de expositione missae. 4to. CA. 880. [BRH; BM (3835. aaa.).] Sect. xxxiii. 3C.

About 1487—Guilielmus de Gouda. Tractatus de expositione missae. 4to. CA. 881. [BRB.] Sect. xxxiii. 3D.

After 11 Dec. } 1489—Ordinancie vander munten. 4to. CA. 1338. [BRH.] Sect. xxxiii. 4.

XXVI. GODFR. BACK, GOES' SUCCESSOR (1493—1500).

AT ANTWERP.

3 July 1493—N. Perottus. Grammatica et ars metrica. 4to. CA. 1379. [Trier.] Sect. xxxv. 1.

24 Nov. 1493 (op S. Katherinen auont)—Gheestelyker crone onser lieuer vrouwen. 8vo. CA. 498. [BRH.] Sect. xxxiv. 1; xxxv. 1.

1493-1495—J. Beysselius. Rosacea Marie corona. 4to. CA. 288. [BRH; Ghent.] Sect. xxxiv. 4.

1493-1495—Epistola de miseria curatorum. 4to. CA. 679. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xxxv. 2.

1493-1495—Die gulden letanien vander passien ons Heeren. 8vo. CA. 1172. [Prof. Doedes at Utrecht.] Sect. xii. 24; xxxv. 3.

1493-1495—Passio Domini. 8vo. CA. 1360. [BRH.] Sect. xii. 25.

16 Jan. 1495—J. Beysselius. Tria rosacea coronamenta. 4to. CA. 289. [BRB; BNP.] Sect. xxxiv. 2 A.

1495—Der kerstenen salicheyt. 16mo. CA. 1499. [MWH.] Sect. xxxiv. 3 A.

1495—Die seuen getijden vander passien. 16mo. CA. 829. [BRH.] Sect. xxxiv. 3 B.

3 July 1496 (derden dach in hoymaent)—Epistelen ende euangelien. 4to. CA. 706. [BRH.] Sect. xii. 26; xxxiii. 3 E; xxxiv. 3 C, 5; xxxv. 4, 5.

1496—Legenda S. Dympnae. 4to. CA. 1098. [BRH; BM (Grenv. 5745); ULC.] Sect. xxxiv. 6 A.

About 1496—Historie van Koninck Karel ende den ridder Elegast. 4to. CA. 972. [Berlin.] Sect. xxxiv. 7.

1496-97—Die kuere van Zeelandt. 4to. CA. 1075. [BRH.] Sect. xxxv. 6, 7.

1496-1500—Stella clericorum. 4to. CA. 1612. [BRH.] Sect. xxxiv. 2 B.

Feb. 1498—Libellus de modo confitendi. 4to. CA. 1144. [BRH.] Sect. xxxiv. 6 B.

1498—Albertus Magnus. Liber aggregationis. 4to. CA. 83. [BRH (imperfect); BRB.] Sect. xxxiv. 10.

About 1498—M. Sclegers. Historia de Anna sanctissima. 4to. CA. 1507. [BRH.] Sect. xxxiv. 2 C, 9.

About 1499—Seer minnelijke woerden die Jhesus hadde met sijn moeder. 8vo. CA. 1783. [BRH.] Sect. xxxiv. 11.

21 Sept. 1500—Der sielen troest. fol. CA. 1550. [BRH.] Sect. xiii. 3; xxxv. 8.

About 1500—R. de Capua. Sinte Katherinen Legende. 4to. CA. 1101. [Haarlem.] Sect. xxxiv. 12; xxxv. 9, 10.

About 1500—J. Andreae. Summa super quarto decretalium. 8vo. CA. 153. [Trier.] Sect. xxxiv. 8, 13; xxxv. 11.

About 1500—Historie van den Hertoghe Gouaert van Buloen. fol. CA. 969. [Hain *3686 (therefore at Munich); I have seen no copy of this book; but it contains 43 cuts.]

About 1500—Boecxken dat seer profitelijck is voer allen visschers ende vogheleers. 4to. CA. 301. [A. Denison, Esq.] Sect. xxxiv. 15.

About 1500—Boecxken dat seer profitelic is voer allen visschers. en[de v]ogheleers. 4to. Not in CA. No imprint or device. [ULC, leaves 5 to 8 (out of 8) containing cuts 5, 1, and 3.] Sect. xxxiv. 15.

About 1500—Questiones naturales Arestotelis. 4to. CA. 182. [BM (541. c. 24); Hamburg.] Sect. xii. 27 A; xxxiv. 10.

About 1500—Albertanus Brixiensis. De doctrina dicendi et tacendi. 4to. CA. 68. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xxxiv. 14.

About 1500—Historie van Paris ende Vienne. 4to. CA. 944. [I have seen no copy of this book. It contains at least one cut three times repeated.]

XXVII. LUD. DE RAVESCOT (1487—1488).

AT LOUVAIN.

After 9 Sept. } 1487—Die valuer vander munten. Broadside. CA. 1703. [BRB.] Sect. xxiii. 2, 3.

About 1487—Visio lamentabilis, "Noctis sub silentio tempore brumali" etc. 4to. CA. 1745. [BM; ULC; BLO.] Sect. xxiii. 1.

1488—P. de Rivo. Opus responsivum ad Epistolam apologeticam Pauli de Middelburgo. fol. CA. 1405. [BRH; BM (691, g. 9); ULC; BLO.] Sect. xxiii. 4, 5; xxxviii. 5.

1488-89—Bonus Accursius Pisanus. Compendium elegantiarum Laurentii Vallensis. 4to. CA. 3. [ULC; Prag; Helmstadt (wanting cut).] Sect. xxii. 4.

XXVIII. HASSELT PRESS (1488—1490).

(PEREGR. BARMENTLOE AS) P.B.

1488—Liden ons Heren. 4to. CA. 1162. [BRH.] Sect. i. G; xvii. 4 D, 5 B; xviii. 1 B, 2 A.

About 1488—Clargie ende rechte conste om wel te connen leuen ende salich te steruen. 4to. CA. 446. [BRH.] Sect. xviii. 2 B.

2 Jan. 1490—Sancte Jheronimus boeck. 4to. CA. 927. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xvii. 8.

XXIX. RIC. PAFFROET (1488—1500).

AT DEVENTER.

4 Sept. 1488—Guilielmus de Gouda. Tractatus de expositione missae. 4to. CA. 883. [BRH; BM (3837. aa.).] Sect. xxviii. 11.

4 May 1489—Johannes Anwykyll. Compendium totius grammatice. 4to. CA. 474. [BM; ULC; Trin. Coll. Cambr.] Sect. xxviii. 11, 12.

16 July 1489—Cicero. De Senectute. 4to. CA. 429. [ULC; BNP.] Sect. xxviii. 13.

25 Jan. 1491—Petrus Hispanus. Summulae. 4to. CA. 1398. [BRH.] Sect. xxxviii. 6.

18 Nov. 1491—Colloquium peccatoris et crucifixi. 4to. CA. 468. [BRH.] Sect. xxviii. 12.

1492—Boexken van onser lieuer Vrouwen croen, salter, roosencrans, ende mantel. 8vo. CA. 330. [BRH; MWH; ULC (Mantel only).] Sect. xxviii. 14.

1493-1495—A. Van Eybe. Boeck van den Echten Staete. 4to. CA. 724. [ULC.] Sect. ix. 3 a; xxviii. 16 A.

14 July 1495—A. Hegius. Farrago. 4to. CA. 742. [BRH.] Sect. xxviii. 13.

8 Nov. 1497—Cato moralissimus cum commento. 4to. CA. 413. [BRH.] Sect. xxviii. 16 B.

1497—Horarium Windesemense. 16mo. CA. 931. [Helmstadt (S. 59. a).] Sect. xxviii. 14.

XXX. PRINTER OF THE *SPIEGHEL DER SIMPELRE MENSCHEN* (about 1490).

AT LOUVAIN (?).

About 1490—Dirck van Munster. Spieghel der simpelre menschen. 8vo. CA. 595. [BRB, not seen by me.] Sect. xxii. 6. The type is that used at Audenarde by A. de Keysere for certain quatrains in his French *Quattuor Novissima* (1481-82), HMT. 113 (99) g. On his leaving Audenarde for Ghent (1483) his ordinary type passed to Rad. Loeffs de Driel at Louvain (1483-1484), and this type may well have passed to the same printer and have been used there by others after him; there is no trace of its having gone to Ghent. For the present, therefore, it is safest to attribute the book to an unnamed press, which (judging from the cut) must be placed at Louvain about 1490.

XXXI. ADR. VAN LIESVELDT (1494—1500).

AT ANTWERP.

May 1494—Die gulden Letanie vander Passien. 8vo. CA. 1170. [Musée Plantin, Antwerp.] Sect. xvi. 1 G.

9 Aug. 1494 (op S. Lauwereys auont)—Duytsche ghetiden. 8vo. CA. 836. [Earl Spencer.] Sect. xii. 14; xvi. 1 H.

1494—Bonaventura. Die vier oefeninghen. 8vo. CA. 341. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 b; xi. 4 D; xvi. 1 I.

About 1494—Die hondert Articulen van der passien ons heeren. 8vo. CA. 187. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 c; x. 1 L; xvi. 1 K; xxxvi. 2 A.

About 1494—Oefeninghe van vii ween onser sueter Vrouwen. 8vo. CA. 1780. [I have not seen a copy of this book.] Sect. xii. 18 B.

1494-1495—Kalendarium. 8vo. CA. 1064. [BRH.] Sect. xii. 22.

13 June 1495 (13 Idus Junii)—Horarium Trajectense. 8vo. CA. 990. [MWH;

ULC (title differently worded, but book otherwise identical).] Sect. ix. 3 d; xii. 23 A; xvi. 1 L.

29 July 1495—Duytsche ghetyden. 8vo. CA. 839. [BRH.] Sect. xii. 14; xvi. 1 M.

8 Aug. 1496—Bonaventura. Die vier oefeninghen. 8vo. CA. 342. [BRB; Haarlem.] Sect. ix. 3 e; xi. 4 E.

1 Sept. 1496—Die historie die ghetiden ende die exempelen van sint Annen. 8vo. CA. 962. [BRH; ULC (wanting the Ghetiden).] Sect. xxxiv. 8.

27 Feb. 1497—Die Hijstorie die getijden ende mirakelen van sint Anna. 8vo. CA. 963. [BRH.] Sect. xxxiv. 8.

7 Apr. 1497—Bonaventura. Die vier oeffeningen. 8vo. CA. 343. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 f; xi. 4 F.

6 Nov. 1499—Bonaventura. Die vier oefeninghen. 8vo. CA. 344. [BRH.] Sect. ix. 3 g; xi. 4 G; xxxvi. 2 B.

1499-1500—Muntplacaat of 24 Dec. 1499. Broadside. CA. 1272. [BRH.] Sect. xvi. 1 N; xxxvi. 3, 4, 5.

4 Nov. 1500—Les ressamblances des empraintes des deniers dor et dargent (French translation of the Muntplacaat of 24 Dec. 1499). Oblong 8vo. CA. 1476. [BRB.] Sect. xxxvi. 3, 4, 6, 7.

About 1500—Jhesus ende de sondaer sprekende van onser zielen salicheit. 8vo. CA. 469. [Haarlem.] Sect. ix. 3 h; xvi. 1 O.

About 1500—Dirck van Munster. Corte oefeninge van der passien ons heeren Jhesu Cristi. 8vo. CA. 594. [Haarlem.] Sect. xii. 23 B; xvi. 1 P; xxxiv. 8.

XXXII. THEOD. MARTINI (1494—1497).

AT ANTWERP.

Before 15 June 1494—Mich. Franciscus de Insulis. Quodlibetica decisio de septem doloribus. 4to. CA. 760. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. x. 2; xxxvi. 1.

XXXIII. HUGO JANSZOEN VAN WOERDEN (1494—1500).

AT LEYDEN.

10 Dec. 1494—Ghetiden van onser lieuer Vrouwen. 8vo. CA. 837. [BRH.] Sect. xi. 2 D; xiv. 2; xxix. 1 A.

1497—Onser lieuer Vrouwen getijden. 8vo. CA. 841. [Vergauwen Sale, i. 106.] Sect. xi. 2 E; xiv. 3 A; xxii. 7; xxix. 1 B.

25 May 1498—Leuen ons Heren. 8vo. CA. 1111. [MWH; Leyden (Soc. de Litt. Néerl.); Hamburg (incomplete).] Sect. xiv. 3 B; xxix. 1 C, 2; xxx. 1 A.

14 Dec. 1498—Boecxken van O. L. Vrouwen [Croon, Souter, ende] Mantel. 8vo. CA. 305. [BRH (last sheet only).] Sect. xxix. 1 D; xxx. 2.

1498—Oefeninghe vanden leuen ons heren. 8vo. CA. 1119. [BRH.] Sect. xxii. 8; xxix. 1 E; xxx. 1 B, 2.

16 Oct. 1499—Spieghel der Volcomenheit. 8vo. CA. 1580. [BRH.] Sect. xxx. 1 C, 3.

1499—Bonaventura. Die vier oefeninghen. 8vo. CA. 345. [BRH.] Sect. xxx. 1 D.

About 1499—Bernardus. O. L. Vrouwen souter. 8vo. CA. 279. [BRH.] Sect. xxx. 1 E, 2.

1500—Ghetiden van O. L. Vrouwen. 8vo. CA. 846. [BRH; MWH.] Sect. xxix. 1 F; xxx. 1 F, 2, 4 A.

1500—Leuen onser lyeuer Vrouwen. 8vo. CA. 1122. [BRH; MWH.] Sect. xiv. 4; xxix. 1 G; xxx. 1 G, 2, 4.

About 1500—Van vuerige troestinghe totten doechden. 8vo. CA. 1686. [BRH.] Sect. xxx. 1 K, 2.

About 1500—Leuen ons liefs heren. 8vo. CA. 1114. [MWH; ULC.] Sect. xxix. 1 H; xxx. 1 H, 2.

About 1500—O. L. Vrouwen ween. 8vo. CA. 1779. [BRH.] Sect. xxix. 1 K; xxx. 1 L.

About 1500—Tractaet van die eewighe wijsheyt. 8vo. CA. 1787. [BRH.] Sect. xxii. 9.

XXXIV. COLLACIE BROEDERS (1496—1500).

At Gouda.

20 Apr. 1496—Getyden van O. L. Vrouwen. 8vo. CA. 840. [ULC; Gouda.] Sect. xvi. 3; xxvii. 1.

10 June 1496—Der maghet Liedwy van scyedam, haer leuen. 4to. CA. 1125. [M. Koemans at Gouda.] Sect. ix. 2 g; xxvii. 2.

Before 3 Oct. 1496—Kalendarium. 8vo. Not in CA. [BRH.] Sect. xxvii. 3, 5.

3 Oct. 1496 (op S. Franciscus auont)—Deuote getijden vanden leuen Jhesu Christi. 8vo. CA. 1116. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. ix. 2 h, 5 B, 6 C; xxvii. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

About 1496—Die corte doernen crone. 8vo. CA. 504. [BRH.] Sect. xxvii. 10.

About 1496—Spieghel der gracien. 8vo. Not in CA. [M. G. van Havre at Antwerp.] Sect. xxvii. 1, 11.

About 1496—Aflaten van dye broederscap van onser Vrouwen ghilt. 8vo. CA. 51. [BRH.] Sect. xxvii. 12, 13.

About 1500—Historie vanden heiligen patriarch Joseph. 8vo. CA. 970. [BRH.] Sect. xii. 23 C; xxvii. 14.

XXXV. SCHOONHOVEN PRESS (1496—1500).

Augustinian Canons of St Michael's.

5 Oct. 1496—Ghetidenboec. 8vo. CA. 840 a. [BRH.] Sect. xxv. 10 A; xxxi. 1 A.

28 Feb. 1497—Leuen ons liefs heren. 8vo. CA. 1109. [MWH.] Sect. xxv. 10 B; xxxi. 1 B.

10 Nov. 1497—Oefeninghe vander passien. 8vo. CA. 1327. [BRH.] Sect. xxxi. 1 C.

24 Dec. 1497 (opten Kers auont)—Leuen ons liefs heren. 8vo. CA. 1110. [MWH (imperfect).] Sect. xxxi. 1 D.

About 1497—Deuote materien dienende totter salicheit van allen kersten menschen. 8vo. CA. 1220. [Vergauwen Sale, i. 61.] Sect. xxv. 10 C; xxxi. 1 E.

28 Mar. 1498—Ghetidenboec. 8vo. CA. 842. [MWH; ULC.] Sect. xxv. 10 D; xxxi. 1 F; xxxii. 1.

1498—Dirck van Munster. Spiegel der kerstenen menschen. 8vo. CA. 601. [BRH.] Sect. xxv. 10 E; xxxi. 1 G.

1 Feb. 1499 (circa Kal. Feb.)—Breviarium Windesimense. 4to. CA. 368, 369. [BRH.] Sect. xxxii. 2.

15 Oct. 1499—Die spieghel der volmaectheyt. 8vo. CA. 1579. [ULC.] Sect. xxv. 10 F; xxxi. 1 H.

1499—Leuen ons liefs heren. 8vo. CA. 1113. [BRH; BRB.] Sect. xxv. 10 G; xxxi. 1 K; xxxii. 3.

31 Mar. 1500—Bonaventura. Boecxken vanden vier oefeningen. 8vo. CA. 346. [BRH; ULC.] Sect. xxv. 10 H; xxxi. 1 L; xxxii. 4 A.

About 1500—Horarium. 8vo. CA. 995. [ULC.] Sect. xxvii. 1; xxxii. 4 B.

XXXVI. ROL. VAN DEN DORP (1497—1500).

At Antwerp.

28 Feb. 1497—Die alder Excellenste Cronyke van Brabant. fol. CA. 508. [BRH; BRB; BNP (M. 26); ULC; BLO.] Sect. xxxvii. 1 A.

About 1500—Guido van der Columnen. Hystorye vander destrucyen van Troyen. fol. CA. 876. [M. Alph. Willems at Brussels.] Sect. xxxvii. 1 B, 9.

About 1500—Ganck die Jesus ghinc metten cruce gheladen. 8vo. CA. 772. [BRB.] Sect. xxxvii. 2, 3, 4.

About 1500—Seer minnelijcke woerden die Jhesus hadde met sijne moeder. 8vo. CA. 1785. [Haarlem.] Sect. xxxvii. 5, 6, 7.

About 1500—Van Nijeũvont Loosheit ende Practike hoe sij vrou Lortse verheffen. 4to. CA. 1705. [BRH.] Sect. xxxvii. 8.

XXXVII. SCHIEDAM PRESS (1498—1500).

Printer of the Vita Lydwinae.

1498—J. Brugman. Vita Lijdwine de Schiedam. 4to. CA. 383. [BRH; BRB; BLO (Douce 94).] Sect. xxxii. 5, 6.

After 1498—Olivier de Lamarche. Le Chevalier délibéré. fol. CA. 1084. [BNP (Y. 4418); Arsenal, Paris (9454 B); Musée Plantin, Antwerp (no. 11).] Sect. xxv. 7; xxxii. 6, 7.

XXXVIII. HENR. DIE LETTERSNIDER (1500 ?).

At Antwerp.

About 1500—Ganck die Jhesus ghinck geladen metten cruce. 8vo. CA. 771. [BRH.] Sect. xxxvii. 12.

About 1500—Jacob van Maerlant. Tboeck vanden Houte. 8vo. CA. 1025. [Haarlem.] Sect. xxxvii. 12.

XXXIX. ADR. VAN BERGHEN (1500 ?).

At Antwerp.

1500—Matthaeus de Cracovia. Een scone leringe om salich te steruen. 8vo. CA. 1223. [BRH.] Sect. xxxvii. 10, 11.

APPENDIX.

NOTE.

The sale of the Vergauwen collection brought to light a packet of fragments, which, though not included in the Catalogue, were sold at the opening of the sale and were purchased for the University of Cambridge. Among these were the fragments of a *Horae B. M. V.*, printed in the type used exclusively at Ghent by Arend de Keysere, with a number of cuts and borders of such importance as to render it desirable that they should be included in the present work, of which the first two Parts were already printed before the discovery was made. What has to be said in this Appendix is, for convenience, arranged on the same method as the rest of the book, the general criticism being put first and the detailed notice of the cuts following. It makes a Section on Audenarde and Ghent, which would naturally have found a place in Chapter IV., and would have followed Section 12 in both Parts. The list of Arend de Keysere's books referred to will be found in its proper place (No. XIV.) in Part III., as that part of the present volume had not been printed off when the Appendix was written.

APPENDIX.

AUDENARDE AND GHENT.

(1480—1490.)

APPENDIX TO PART I.

Arend de Keyseré's Woodcutter (1480—1490).

In the year 1480 Arend de Keysere appears at Audenarde as the printer of the Sermons of Hermannus de Petra. In 1483 on the 8th of April we find him printing at Ghent the *Traittie de paix et de mariage fait a Francise alias Arras le xxiii iour de decembre* 1482. He continued printing at Ghent for some years, though comparatively few copies of his books have survived. The inventory of his effects, taken after his death, is mentioned in the Ghent registers for the year 1489-90. Amongst his property we find noted "divers printed books," a hundred copies of the great Boethius of 1485 being deemed worthy of a special mention. His heirs were his widow and three daughters. The daughters ceded the printing-press and materials to their mother; and the communal accounts of Ghent prove that, in the year 1490, she was employed to print and circulate 300 copies of the articles of the Treaty ratified at Montils-lez-Tours, 29 Oct. 1489. From the inventory of effects taken in the year 1512-13, on the death of a son-in-law of Arend de Keysere, we learn that Arend's widow had been remarried to Hen. van den Dale, who appears in the registry of the Confraternity of St Luke at Bruges, as a printer, in 1505-6.[1]

When the First Part of this book was printed, it was not known that Arend de Keysere employed woodcuts, if we except his Device, which is rather a diagram of interlaced lines than a

[1] All these details are derived from M. Ferd. Vander Haeghen's *Bibliographie Gantoise*, I. pp. 5, 6.

cut in the ordinary sense. A number of fragments, however, purchased at the Vergauwen sale for the University Library at Cambridge, have thrown new light upon the matter, and the Device derives interest in consequence. It is a black space of the form of a wide spear-head, a broad white line, twined about in a complex but symmetrical manner, being cut within it on the black ground. The Device appears at Audenarde in 1480, and is found again there at the beginning of the next year in a different state, more ornamental details being cut out of the black ground. The same Device appears in a third state at Audenarde a year later still, and again at Ghent in the *Traittie de paix* (above referred to) in 1483, and in subsequent years. The only other woodcut that at all resembles this Device is the Device of Bellaert (Sect. xi. 1), in the upper part of which is likewise a pattern of interlaced white lines on a black ground.

The Cambridge fragments are leaves of an octavo *Horae*. The last three of them occur in duplicate. Upon the verso of each remaining leaf is a woodcut, whilst upon the recto is text. Eight consecutive leaves are fortunately preserved in one instance, forming sheet S, but in one only. With the exception of three 16mos, all the cuts are of the octavo size, the first seven being somewhat larger than the rest. The cuts of the Visitation, Adoration of the Magi, Ascension, and Pentecost, clearly belonged to the Hours of Our Lady,—the Visitation to Lauds, the Pentecost to Compline. The Assumption of the Virgin may have preceded the 'Salve Regina,' whilst the Last Judgment probably belonged to the Vigils of the Dead. The remaining cuts of Saints illustrate the Suffrages, usually found at the end of a *Horae*. Immediately at the close of these, after the series of Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, is a cut of the Virgin and Child with St Albert the Carmelite, which doubtless was followed by a corresponding suffrage. This seems to indicate that the book was produced under the influence of the Carmelites, who had a notable convent at Ghent. It so happens that A. de Keysere, at the end of the *Rethorica Divina* (the first substantial book printed by him at Ghent) introduces a long and friendly *Epistola dedicatoria*, addressed to Poncius Rainandi

(so printed, perhaps for Rainaudi), the Prior General of the Carmelites, in which he talks of the necessity of printing good books, and of various Carmelite authors whose works have enlightened the world.

The cuts belonging to the first part of the book are all surrounded by borders, three of one piece (all made for a left hand page), four of four pieces of the usual kind. The three 16mo cuts—St Michael, St Martin, and St Anthony—are likewise enclosed in single-piece borders. One of the borders consists of interlaced white lines on a black ground, in the style of the Device; and, in this connexion, it may be observed that certain of the woodcut initial letters used by A. de Keysere are of corresponding interlaced work, which may therefore be looked upon as a characteristic of his press.

The frequent use of borders cannot fail to remind one of the little French *Horae*, imitations of which began to appear in the Netherlands in the year 1491. In them every page of the whole book is surrounded by a border, usually in four pieces. The four Ghent four-piece borders are of similar type, and their patterns are undoubtedly copied from some French original. From the known dates connected with Arend de Keysere's career it is clear that the book must have been printed between 1483 and 1489-90. The presence of the French element in the cuts suggests a close approximation to the later limit; it is, however, to be observed that A. de Keysere has not surrounded his text with borders as well as his cuts. Some of the cuts, as we shall shortly see, are copied from Schongauer's prints. The folio cut of 'Christ before Caiaphas' (Sect. x. 6, no. 14), made by the First Antwerp Woodcutter for Leeu's 'Ludolphus' of 3 Nov. 1487, was likewise copied from a Schongauer engraving; and, as this is the earliest indication of the influence of the Colmar engraver so far North, it is not unnatural to suppose that the Ghent cuts belong to about the same period.

The style of the woodcutting is the same throughout, and, though different from that of the Haarlem School, is more closely connected with it (in the bands of shade hatchings and other details) than with any other. Peculiarly characteristic

of the Ghent workman is his method of treating large spaces of shade. He renders them by rows of long, closely ranged, parallel lines, cut up into short lengths by white gaps, the gaps on any line lying by the side of the black pieces of the lines adjacent to it. For the rest, the outlines are carefully cut and usually firm. Hair, as a rule, is specially well done, in long flowing locks in the case of St Barbara and St Apollonia, in thick curling masses in the case of St Laurence.

The designs of the cuts are by no means so equal, the workman being evidently dependent upon others for them. Five definitely marked groups may be discerned with little difficulty. The Three Kings, the Ascension, the Pentecost, the Trinity, and the Last Judgment are all good, and evidently copied with care from good originals. The type of the Trinity with the Blessed Virgin is one which I do not remember to have met with elsewhere. In the foreground the Virgin kneels on the right, showing her breast; on the left, Christ kneels, almost naked, upon a fallen column, his right arm round the Resurrection Cross, which passes through the Crown of Thorns. God the Father, wearing an Imperial crown, is above in the clouds, the Dove hovering on one side of him, and an Angel with certain of the instruments of the Passion on the other. The Last Judgment is, however, the most remarkable of the five, and differs from all other Dutch and Flemish prints of the subject, known to me. Christ is enthroned in the midst on a rainbow, with his feet on an orb, a flowering branch in the air on the left side of his head, and on the right a sword. Below, the dead rise from their graves between two buildings, Heaven and Hell, which fill the two sides of the cut. The blessed enter the gate of Heaven up steps on the left, whilst the damned pass into the gate of Hell on the right. A devil, planted on the top of the tower over the gate of Hell, shoots with a gun at the newly risen souls. The most noteworthy feature about the cut, however, is the success attained by the woodcutter in putting expression into faces drawn on so small a scale. He thereby proves that, as a workman, he was capable of good things, but he depended upon the design given him. He would finish that to the best of his power; it is only when he is left to be his own designer

that he fails, and his consciousness of failure is shown by the relative carelessness with which he uses his tools. He will patiently labour out the design of a good artist; a bad one of his own he will hurry over as quickly as possible.

For some such reason, the Visitation and Assumption form a contrast to the preceding five. Their design is of the most ordinary kind and they are cut in a perfunctory fashion, as though by a man without interest in his work. Still less pleasing, again, are the cuts of St John the Evangelist, St Mark, St Sebastian, and the Virgin and Child with St Albert the Carmelite, the last mentioned, however, being interesting for other reasons, as already explained. The three 16mo cuts form a fourth well-defined group. The subjects fill the whole space allotted to them and are not badly arranged. Though there is a want of animation about the figures, their general characteristics are well brought out, whilst the bald-headed cripple is a good study from the life. The cut of St Michael is copied, in a general sense, from Schongauer's print (B. 58), the chief difference being that in the engraving the Archangel wears long robes, in the cut his limbs are cased in armour.

By far the best group consists of two pairs of the Suffrage cuts of Saints—St Barbara and St Laurence of the full octavo size, St Andrew and St Apollonia somewhat smaller. These four cuts must be reckoned amongst the best work of the kind in the fifteenth century. The drapery is excellent, the hands are exceptionally elegant in form, the direction of the eyes harmonizes with the action of the body, and the postures are easy and expressive. It is only in architectural adjuncts that there is a conspicuous want of grace, and this is easily accounted for by the fact that the woodcutter copied the figures from good originals, but had to add the accessories out of his own head. The type of all four figures is so essentially that characteristic of the engravings of Martin Schongauer that I at once went to the Fitzwilliam Museum and turned over the collection of that master's engravings preserved there. A glance showed the Ghent St Apollonia to be a copy of the small engraving of St Barbara reading (B. 63), with the necessary addition of the pair of pincers in her hand, the emblem of St Apollonia. The

St Laurence is not an exact copy of a Schongauer print, so far as I have been able to discover, but the figure is of the same type as the St Laurence (B. 56), whilst it seems, in part at any rate, to be copied from the St Stephen (B. 49). The originals of the Ghent St Barbara and St Andrew I could not identify, though a more extended investigation than I had time for would undoubtedly reveal them.

Of the single-piece borders, those round the cuts of St Michael and St Martin deserve special mention. Unlike the rest, they are not engraved in white on a black ground, but they consist of an arrangement of black outlines of the usual kind. Except for their superior delicacy of execution they strongly recall Haarlem work. They are different in design from the usual flower and leaf borders of the manuscripts of the fifteenth century, the original from which they were copied being rather some illuminated Prayer-book of the century preceding. The border round the St Michael was certainly made to occupy that position, containing, as it does, in the lower part an animated representation of the Combat of St George and the Dragon, whilst above, in genuine Gothic spirit, is a grotesque reflexion of the same idea in the form of a battle between two creatures, half man, half beast, with great foliated tails, another similar creature standing by as a herald blowing a long horn. The border round St Martin is a Stem of Jesse, gracefully designed, the flowers being the Kings of Judah with the Virgin and Child highest of them all.

In the library of the Duc d'Arenberg is yet another book containing a cut, printed at Ghent by A. de Keysere. It is the *Tractatus de periculis contingentibus circa sacramentum Eucharistiae**. It is the only known Ghent book with an ordinary title-page. Upon it there is stated to be a woodcut representing the Last Supper. The peculiarity of its having a title-page, as well as a woodcut, places it late among the Ghent books (say 1488-90).

* CA. 1660 and 1678—the same copy in both cases. It is the Bolongaro-Crevenna copy sold at Amsterdam 1789, the Van de Velde copy of Breda 1830, the Lammens copy of Ghent 1840, the Van Coetsem copy of Ghent 1866-67, bought on this last occasion by the Duc d'Arenberg. (*Note given me by Mr Bradshaw.*)

APPENDIX TO PART II.

Arend de Keysere's Woodcutter.
(1480—1490).

1. A. de Keysere's device; a black space, of the form of the blade of a spear, with an interlaced white line cut out of it. HMT. 95 (98) a.

1480—Hermannus de Petra (CA. 919). Audenarde, A. de Keysere.

The device appears in a second state (HMT. 95 (98) c), with a jagged white border cut round near the edge of the black space, in

1480–81—Joh. Laet, Pronosticaten (CA. 1082). Audenarde, A. de Keysere.
1480–81—Dystorie van Saladine (CA. 979). ,, ,,

The same device in a third state (HMT. 95 (98) b and 113 (99) a) appears in

1481-82—Quatre dernières choses (CA. 586). Audenarde, A. de Keysere.
8 Apr. 1483—Traittie de paix (CA. 1681). Ghent, ,,
22 Aug. 1483—Rethorica divina (CA. 905). ,, ,,

2. A set of octavo and 16mo cuts and of octavo borders for a *Horae;* only fragments (with 18 cuts and 10 borders) are known.

1483-90—Horae B.M.V. (not in CA.). Ghent, A. de Keysere.

All are octavos unless otherwise stated.

1. The Visitation (Lauds). Elizabeth on the l., the Virgin on the r.; behind, on the r. are buildings, on the l. hills.

2. The Three Kings (Sext?). The Virgin sits on the l. under a roof, above which is the star. One king kneels in the mid.; the others stand on the r. Behind, the procession of the kings can be seen.

3. The Ascension (Vespers?). The Virgin and Apostles kneel l. and r. of a hillock, upon which are Christ's foot-prints. His feet are seen disappearing in clouds above.

4. Pentecost (Compline). All sit in a room, seen through an archway. The Dove overshadows them with wide-spread wings.

5. The Assumption of the Virgin. She is supported in the air by two angels on each side. A landscape is seen below.

6. The Trinity with the Virgin. Described in the text above.

7. The Last Judgment. Described in the text above.

Suffrage cuts.

8. St Michael. He is standing, with wings displayed and a little cross on his brow, in the act of transfixing, with the point of his crosier, a devil who lies on the ground at his feet. He is turned somewhat to the r. and his l. foot is advanced—16mo cut.

9. '*Sanctus Johannes Evangelista.*' He stands with his back to an altar, his r. hand raised, exorcising a devil out of the chalice held in his l.

10. '*S. Andreas.*' He stands on a pavement, encircling with his r. arm one of the arms of his cross, whilst with his l. hand, which is under his cloak, he supports the book from which he reads.

11. '*Sanctus Marcus.*' He is seated, holding a pen in his r. hand and writing in a book which rests upon a desk on the l.; the lion lies at his feet.

12. St Laurence. Half-figure, standing, with a book under his l. arm, and holding up the hem of his vestment with his r. hand.

13. St Sebastian. He is fastened to a tree on the l.; one archer stands on the r.

14. St Martin. He is riding to the l. in the act of cutting his cloak; the beggar is on the r. Behind are town walls and a portcullis on the r. —16mo cut.

15. St Anthony. Three-quarter figure, holding a book and bell in the r. hand and his crosier in the l.; flames spring up about him. Behind is a wattle fence and beyond it a hermitage—16mo cut.

16. St Barbara. Half-figure, seated and crowned, reading from a book which lies open on her lap. In her l. hand is a palm-branch and behind it the tower.

17. St Apollonia. She is standing to the l. in a room, with her long hair down her back and her full skirts rather twisted about her. She reads from a book which she holds in both hands, whilst with the r. she also holds the pincers. A copy, for the most part, after Martin Schongauer (B. 63).

18. The Virgin and Child with St Albert the Carmelite. They stand in a room. The Virgin is on the l. with the Child in her arms; over her head is a scroll bearing the words '*Patrona Carmeli semper immaculata.*' St Albert is on the r., with a pot of fire in his r. hand, standing on a female devil with a lion's tail who, nevertheless, with a hooked stick, tries to upset the fire-pot. Over the Saint's head is a scroll, involved with the other, bearing the words '*S. Albertus Carmelita.*'

Borders in one piece.

19. An entwined cord engraved out of a black ground (round No. 1).

20. At the top two beasts with entwined necks; a man and woman at the bottom (round No. 6).

21. Slanting logs separating birds, flowers, etc. (round No. 7).

22. At the bottom, the Combat of St George and the Dragon (round No. 8).

23. The stem of Jesse (round No. 14).

24. On the l. David kneeling, at the top a blessing Hand (round No. 15).

Borders in four pieces.

Top pieces.

25. Three birds and two flowers (to No. 2).
26. A wavy tendril with four flowers (to No. 3).
27. A beast in the mid., a wavy tendril across (to No. 4).
28. Three large leaves (to No. 5).

Inner pieces.

29. Four flowers on stems (to No. 2).
30. Thirteen leaves (to Nos. 3 and 4).
31. Triangles, each enclosing a cusped arch (to No. 5).

Outer pieces.

32. A bird between flowers (to No. 2).
33. Two large flowers (to Nos. 3 and 4).
34. A bird and two large flowers (to No. 5).

Bottom pieces.

35. Two large leaves (to No. 2).
36. A bird, with displayed wings, perched on a tendril (to Nos. 3 and 5).
37. A man spearing a stag (to No. 4).

3. A cut representing the Last Supper.

1488-90—Tractatus de periculis (CA. 1678). Ghent, A. de Keysere.

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